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Spain Western Sahara (formerly Spanish Sahara)

Department of Foreign Affairs

RE8.

File Number 935/28/2
Part Number 70

**FILE
CLOSED**

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This part closed on 27, 9, 86

Subsequent correspondence on Part/File Number 7

251

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

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TO.
PP CANBERRA/

FM. % M. ABDELAZIZ 66258 SARIO DZA /

U N C L A S S I F I E D
BOB HAWKE, PREMIER MINISTRE D AUSTRALIE
CANBERA

for Sam

935/28/2

EXCELLENCE,

NOUS AVONS APPRIS DE SOURCES SURES QUE LORS D'UNE VISITE QU'IL A EFFECTUEE DU 2 AU 8 SEPTEMBRE 1986 AUX ZONES OCCUPEES DU SAHARA OCCIDENTAL ,LE PRINCE HERITIER DU MAROC ETAIT ACCOMPAGNE D'UNE DELEGATION MILITAIRE ISRAELIENNE, CONDUITE PAR UN GENERAL, COMPOSEE DE CINQ HAUTS OFFICIERS APPARTENANT A DIFFERENTES SPECIALISATIONS DE L'ARMEE ISRAELIENNE.

CETTE VISITE S'INSCRIT DANS LA PERSPECTIVE DE LA PARTICIPATION DIRECTE DE L'ARMEE ISRAELIENNE , EN APPUI AU ROYAUME DU MAROC , DANS LA GUERRE D'AGRESSION ET DE GENOCIDE QUE MENE CE DERNIER DEPUIS PLUS DE DIX ANS CONTRE LE PEUPLE SAHRAOUI. CETTE MISSION CONSTITUE EN EFFET LE PREMIER PAS DESTINE A PERMETTRE A L'ETAT-MAJOR MILITAIRE D'ISRAEL D'ETUDIER SUR PLACE LA NATURE ET LES CONDITIONS DE LA GUERRE AU SAHARA OCCIDENTAL , EN VUE DE VENIR EN AIDE A L'ARMEE MAROCAINE,RETRANCHEE DERRIERE SES ''MURS '' DE DEFENSE.

AINSI, L'ARRIERE Pensee DU ROI HASSAN II , EN RECEVANT AU MAROC, EN JUILLET DERNIER LE PREMIER MINISTRE SHIMON PEREZ N'ETAIT QU'UNE TENTATIVE A PEINE VOILEE D'OBTENIR LE SOUTIEN DIRECT D'ISRAEL. L'ORDRE DU JOUR DE LA RENCONTRE D'IFRANE ETAIT D'AILLEURS CONSACRE PRESQU'ENTIEREMENT A LA GUERRE AU SAHARA OCCIDENTAL. LA DISCUSION A PORTE ESSENTIELLEMENT SUR LES POINTS SUIVANTS:

- LA COOPERATION TECHNIQUE-LE GOUVERNEMENT MAROCAIN CHERCHANT A TIRER PARTI DE L'EXPERIENCE ISRAELIENNE DANS LA GUERRE AU DESERT..
 - LA COOPERATION ETROITE ENTRE LES SERVICES DES RENSEIGNEMENTS GENERAUX, ISRAELIENS ET MAROCAINS.
 - L'ACQUISITION PAR LE MAROC DES APPAREILS AMERICAINS ''F 16'' ET DES MIRAGE 2000'' FRANCAIS..
 - L'ATTRACTION DES INVESTISSEMENTS OCCIDENTAUX AU MAROC.
- LE PROBLEME DU PROCHE-ORIENT N'ETAIT QUE TRES SOMMAIREMENT ABORDE.

CELA REVELE ET CONFIRME UNE FOIS DE PLUS QUE LE GOUVERNEMENT MAROCAIN N'EST PAS ENCORE DECIDE A SE DEPARTIR DE SA VOLONTE D'ESCALADE MILITAIRE ET D'EMBRASEMENT GENERAL DE LA REGION NORD-OUEST DE L'AFRIQUE, QUE VOUS SAVEZ SENSIBLE A MAINTS EGARDS.

.../2

IN

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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IN

EXCELLENCE,

PERMETTEZ-MOI DONC D'ATTIRER VOTRE ATTENTION SUR LE CARACTERE GRAVE DE CE PROCESSUS DANGEREUX DANS LEQUEL S'ENLISE LE GOUVERNEMENT MAROCAIN. LES CONSEQUENCES DE CETTE ATTITUDE BELLIQUEUSE, TANT POUR LA PAIX QUE POUR LA SECURITE DANS LA REGION ET DANS LE MONDE , SONT EN EFFET IMPREVISIBLES. UNE TELLE POSITION TEMOIGNE EN OUTRE DES REELLES INTENTIONS DU GOUVERNEMENT MAROCAIN QUANT AUX EFFORTS DE PAIX CONSENTIS PAR LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE, POUR LA RECHERCHE D'UNE SOLUTION JUSTE ET PACIFIQUE DU CONFLIT OPPOSANT LE ROYAUME DU MAROC AU PEUPLE SAHRAOUI.

NOUS SOMMES PERSUADES QUE VOTRE EXCELLENCE N'EPARGNERA AUCUN EFFORT POUR REAGIR URGEMMENT FACE A CETTE SITUATION POUR LE MOINS PREOCCUPANTE, AFIN DE CONJURER L'IRREPARABLE .

VEUILLEZ RECEVOIR, EXCELLENCE , L'EXPRESSION DE MA HAUTE CONSIDERATION.

MOHAMED ABDELAZIZ,
PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE ARABE SAHRAOUIE
DEMOCRATIQUE ET SECRETAIRE GENERAL DU F.POLISARIO.

BIR-LEHLOU, 26 SEPTEMBRE 1986.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DNA

PRIME MINISTER
MIN DEFENCE
JIO

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

MIN ASTG FOREIGN MIN
DEP P M AND CABINET

ACTION: SAM

JADJ

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	DEPSEC-C	PA	
CN	EX	ISPP	PPA	DPR	SDA
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FAREP-A	FAREP-P	FAREP-S			

ALGIERS AMMAN BAGHDAD CAIRO DAMASCUS LAGOS LONDON RIYADH
TEHRAN TEL AVIV WASHINGTON

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/AC.109/873
1 August 1986

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

WESTERN SAHARA

Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

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I. GENERAL

1. A detailed account of general conditions and developments related to Western Sahara was provided in the 1982 working paper on the Territory (A/AC.109/695).

II. CONSIDERATION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS FORTIETH SESSION

2. At the fortieth session of the General Assembly, reference to the question of Western Sahara was made by President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and Mr. Karim Lamrani, Prime Minister of Morocco, as well as by a number of other representatives during their statements in plenary meetings (see A/40/PV.9-16, 19-25, 27-30, 32-33 and 40-47). An account of the consideration of the item by the Fourth Committee at the same session is contained in the relevant report of the Committee to the Assembly (A/40/906).

3. On 2 December 1985, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, adopted resolution 40/50 on the question of Western Sahara by 96 votes to 7, with 39 abstentions. The resolution reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having examined in depth the question of Western Sahara,

"Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

"Recalling its resolution 39/40 of 5 December 1984 of the question of Western Sahara,

"Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

"Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the question of Western Sahara, 2/

"Recalling resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara, 3/ adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,

"1. Reaffirms that the question of Western Sahara is a question of decolonization which remains to be completed on the basis of the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence;

"2. Reaffirms also that the solution of the question of Western Sahara lies in the implementation of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which establishes ways and means for a just and definitive political solution to the Western Sahara conflict;

"3. Again requests, to that end, the two parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, to undertake direct negotiations, in the shortest possible time, with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations;

"4. Welcomes the efforts of the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to promote a just and definitive solution of the question of Western Sahara;

"5. Invites the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to exert every effort to persuade the two parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, to negotiate, in the shortest possible time and in conformity with resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) and the present resolution, the terms of a cease-fire and the modalities for organizing the said referendum;

"6. Reaffirms the determination of the United Nations to co-operate fully with the Organization of African Unity with a view to implementing the relevant decisions of that organization, in particular resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX);

"7. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its forty-first session;

"8. Invites the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the organization of African Unity relating to Western Sahara;

"9. Invites the Secretary-General to follow the situation in Western Sahara closely with a view to the implementation of the present resolution and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its forty-first session."

III. CONSIDERATION BY THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

4. It will be recalled that at its twentieth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 12 to 15 November 1984, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU adopted the report of the Implementation Committee, which gave an account of the efforts of the Committee to promote the implementation of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara. 3/ At the same session, the "Saharan Arab Democratic Republic" ("SADR") took its seat as a member of OAU, following which Morocco announced its decision to withdraw from OAU. On the expiry of the one-year period of notice, Morocco formally ceased to be a member of that organization with effect from 12 November 1985 (see A/AC.109/832).

5. "SADR" was elected as one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Bureau of the twenty-first ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Addis Ababa from 18 to 20 July 1985. 4/

IV. OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

6. On 24 November 1985, responding to a question during an interview on the French radio, King Hassan II of Morocco is reported to have said that "we are ready - indirectly, with United Nations participation and in accordance with the process established in Nairobi in 1981 and 1982 - to discuss the modalities of a cease-fire and of a referendum, but never directly". He pointed out that the United Nations resolution 5/ left open the possibility of the Secretary-General taking whatever initiative he felt necessary. 6/

7. The sixth Congress of the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saquia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) was held from 4 to 9 December 1985. It reviewed progress made since the previous meeting and adopted a programme of action in the military, political and socio-economic fields. The Congress also confirmed the readiness of "SADR" to engage in negotiations with Morocco in accordance with the peace plan as approved by OAU. 7/

8. On 27 February 1986, "SADR" celebrated its tenth anniversary. Among other delegations, a delegation of the Socialist group of the European Parliament attended the celebrations. Mr. Henry Saby, leader of the delegation, stated in a communiqué issued at Brussels on 26 February 1986 that the time had come for the European Twelve to take part in the search for a peaceful solution of the Western Sahara problem. The celebrations were attended by 600 delegates, including from some of the countries which recognize "SADR". 8/

9. During the period under review, Liberia, India and Guatemala recognized "SADR", bringing to 64 the number of countries that have now recognized it. 9/

10. At a meeting of the African transport ministers held at Harare, Zimbabwe, on 11 March 1986 under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), Morocco decided to withdraw from three African transport projects in protest of a decision to switch a planned Tangiers-Lagos highway to Nouakchott-Lagos. The controversy stemmed from the fact that the new route would cross the territory of

Western Sahara. The highway project is planned under the United Nations Transport and Communications Decade in Africa (1978-1988). 10/

11. The Maghreb countries remained seriously concerned about the question of Western Sahara. It will be recalled that a summit meeting of the five Maghreb countries (Algeria, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia) planned for March 1985 could not be held. While Algeria favoured the convening of the summit meeting on the condition that "the representatives of the Saharan people" took part in it, this condition was unacceptable to Morocco. The idea of a Maghreb summit of the five was revived in November 1985 but no progress was achieved. An editorial on the proposal which appeared in the Algerian daily, El-Moudjahid, on 11 February 1986 commented that there were only two possibilities for holding a Maghreb summit: "Either ... a summit assembling the leaders of the six Maghreb countries who would strive to achieve a just and durable solution, taking into account the positions and aspirations expressed by the Moroccan and Saharan parties to the conflict. Or a summit of the four countries which are not at war and which could elaborate a platform for a rapprochement and entente between the belligerents ...". 11/

12. A meeting of the main political parties of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia (the National Liberation Front or FLN of Algeria, the Socialist-Destour Party of Tunisia, and the Istiqlal Party and the Socialist Union of Popular Forces or USFP of Morocco) was held at Algiers on 27 and 28 April 1986 to celebrate the twenty-eighth anniversary of their historic meeting at Tangiers in 1958. In a communiqué issued at the end of the meeting, the parties "reiterated their call for a speedy solution to the Western Sahara problem, in the service of the interests of the Arab Maghreb and in accordance with the aspirations of its peoples for unity, progress and stability". 12/

13. From 9 to 14 April 1986, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Minister for Armed Forces of the Republic of Senegal, in his capacity as the personal representative of the current Chairman of OAU, held a preliminary series of contacts in New York, in the exercise of good offices and within the framework of General Assembly resolution 40/50, with the representatives of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO. A second round of talks with the two sides was held in New York from 5 to 9 May 1986. The representatives of Algeria and Mauritania were kept informed in their capacity as observers. 13/

14. The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held at Luanda from 4 to 7 September 1985 14/ and the Ministerial Meeting of the co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held at New Delhi from 16 to 19 April 1986 14/ reiterated, inter alia, that the solution to the question of Western Sahara resided in the implementation of OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) and General Assembly resolutions 39/40 and 40/50, which established ways and means for a just and definite solution of the conflict in Western Sahara. The New Delhi meeting also noted with satisfaction the process of joint mediation begun by the Chairman of OAU and the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 9 April 1986 in New York with a view to implementing the resolutions mentioned above and called upon Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO to show the necessary political will to achieve the implementation of those resolutions. 15/

/...

15. In the military field, it was reported that by September 1985 Morocco had completed a system of "defensive walls" stretching over 2,000 kilometres from Zaak, a small Moroccan town near the Algerian frontier, across Tindouf, through Mahbes, Amgala, Guelta Zemour and Bir Anzaran, to the south of the coastal town of Dakhla. It is now reported to encompass about two thirds of the territory of Western Sahara. 16/

16. The efficacy of the "defensive walls" is the subject of claims and counter-claims. The Frente POLISARIO has continued to report launching operations against and behind the wall, and its Secretary-General, Mr. Abdelaziz, recently stated that "we can consider the wall an advantage, because since it is static and very long, the Moroccan soldiers are in a static position. So it allows our 'freedom fighters' to attack those points where and when we want, and to determine what we want to achieve". The Moroccan military commander in the Sahara, on the other hand, termed the POLISARIO raids as "minor harassment" and as "15-minute affairs". 17/

17. The Frente POLISARIO is reported to have stepped up its military attacks on the Moroccan forces during the period from February to April 1986 to coincide with the celebration of the tenth anniversary of "SADR". On 12 and 22 February 1986, two major offensives were reported south of Amgala and near Smara, and frequent smaller attacks continued to be reported in the following months. 18/

Notes

1/ A/40/23 (Part VII), chap. X. The complete report is to be issued as Official Records of the General Assembly, Fortieth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/40/23).

2/ A/40/692 and Corr.1.

3/ For the text, see General Assembly resolution 38/40, para. 1.

4/ Organization of African Unity Press Release No. NY/OAU/BUR/43, 31 October 1985.

5/ See A/40/906 and resolution 40/50.

6/ Le Matin du Sahara, 27 November 1985.

7/ Foreign Broadcast Information Service, FBIS-MEA-85-238, Annex No. 055, 11 December 1985.

8/ APS, Brussels, 26 February 1986.

9/ Le Monde (Paris), 2 August 1985; Reuter, 2 October, 1985; and Summary of World Broadcasts, ME/8233, 15 April 1986.

Notes (continued)

- 10/ Africa, No. 176, April 1986.
- 11/ Reuter, El-Moujahid, 11 February 1986.
- 12/ Foreign Broadcast Information Service, FBIS-MEA-86-084, 1 May 1986.
- 13/ SG/SM/3867, 9 May 1986.
- 14/ See A/40/854-S/17610, annex I, sect. X.
- 15/ See A/41/341-S/18065, annex I, sect. VII.
- 16/ Foreign Broadcast Information Service, FBIS-MEA-85-181, Annex No. 034, 18 September 1985; Jeune Afrique, 11 December 1985.
- 17/ South, April 1986.
- 18/ Africa, No. 176, April 1986.

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.AL9227 DJSM
TOR 22.38 03.06.86

O.AL9227 1200 3.6.86 CLA

TO.
PP CANBERRA/7343

RP.
RR UN NEW YORK/366 PARIS EMB/1209

FM. ALGIERS / REF O.AL9173

935/28/2

R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA - PROXIMITY TALKS

FROM FILE 862/117

START OF SUMMARY

IN A FURTHER LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER, THE PRESIDENT OF THE 'SAHRAOUI ARAB DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (SADR) CLAIMS THAT, AT THE SECOND ROUND OF PROXIMITY TALKS IN EARLY MAY, MOROCCO MAINTAINED ITS INTRANSIGENT STANCE IN RESPECT OF A REFERENDUM AND IMPLEMENTATION OF UN RES 40/50 AND WILL LIKELY CONTINUE TO DO SO. THE UN SEC-GEN AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE OAU WERE TO MEET TO ASSESS THE SITUATION ON 28 MAY.

END OF SUMMARY

WE HAVE RECEIVED A FURTHER LETTER, DATED 19 MAY, FROM THE PRESIDENT OF SADR AND SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE POLISARIO FRONT, ADDRESSED TO THE PRIME MINISTER. OUR WORKING TRANSLATION OF IT IS CONTAINED BELOW, AND THE ORIGINAL WILL BE FORWARDED BY BAG ON 4 JUNE. NOTWITHSTANDING REFERENCE IN THE TEXT TO TWO EARLIER LETTERS, WE CONFIRM HAVING RECEIVED ONLY THAT DATED 21 APRIL AND CABLED TO YOU IN O.AL9173.

2. TEXT OF LETTER IS AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE

HAVING PREVIOUSLY HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO ADVISE YOU IN MY LETTERS OF 31 MARCH AND 21 APRIL 1986 OF THE PRELIMINARY TALKS WHICH WERE HELD UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE OAU, IT IS NOW MY PRIVILEGE TO INFORM YOU ON THE SECOND PHASE OF TALKS WHICH TOOK PLACE IN NEW YORK ON 5 MAY.

DURING THIS SECOND ROUND OF PRELIMINARY TALKS, OUR DELEGATION HAD THE

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2-O.AL9227

OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN CLEARLY, WITH THE SUPPORT OF ARGUMENTS, OUR POSITION WHICH IS BASED ON INTERNATIONAL LEGALITY AND GOOD SENSE.

OUR STANCE CAN BE BRIEFLY RECALLED IN TWO POINTS:

1. THE FULL AND FAIR IMPLEMENTATION OF UN RESOLUTION 40/50 OF DECEMBER 1985, WHICH TAKES UP RESOLUTION AHG 104 OF THE 19TH OAU SUMMIT AND WHICH CLEARLY DEFINES THE WAYS AND MEANS TO REACH A JUST AND DURABLE SOLUTION TO THE WESTERN SAHARA CONFLICT, NAMELY DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS FOR A CEASE-FIRE AND A FREE AND FAIR REFERENDUM WITHOUT ADMINISTRATIVE OR MILITARY INTERFERENCE BY MOROCCO (UNDERLINE 7).

2. IN THE ABSENCE OF THE FIRST CONDITION, WHICH IT CONTINUES TO REJECT, MOROCCO IS ONLY LEFT WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF WHAT IT HAD ITSELF REQUESTED FROM SPAIN IN 1975, NAMELY:

- THE WITHDRAWAL OF ITS TROOPS, ITS ADMINISTRATION AND ITS COLONIES OF SETTLERS FROM THE WESTERN SAHARA, WHICH ARE CONDITIONS ESSENTIAL TO THE FREE EXPRESSION OF THE SAHRAOUI PEOPLE.

THE POLISARIO FRONT, WHICH HAS ALWAYS SHOWN ITS READINESS TO BRING THE EFFORTS OF THE UN AND THE OAU TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION, HAS ONCE MORE DISPLAYED ITS WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN REPLYING SPEEDILY TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE WHICH THE UN AND THE OAU HAD SUBMITTED TO THE TWO PARTIES, AND HAS PROVIDED ALL NECESSARY CLARIFICATIONS IN RESPECT OF ITS POSITION.

UNFORTUNATELY, ALL INDICATIONS LEAD US TO BELIEVE THAT MOROCCO WILL CONTINUE TO IGNORE THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND THAT IT WILL INVARIABLY ADHERE TO ITS INTRANSIGENT STANCE AND ITS REFUSAL TO ACHIEVE PEACE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WAS DECIDED AT THE END OF THIS ROUND OF TALKS THAT THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE OAU WOULD MEET THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS ON MAY 28 TO ASSESS THE EFFORTS IN WHICH THE TWO ORGANISATIONS HAVE BEEN ENGAGED DURING THESE TWO SERIES OF PRELIMINARY TALKS TO BRING THE TWO PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. ON THIS OCCASION, THEY WILL DECIDE ON FURTHER STEPS TO BE TAKEN.

WHILE RENEWING OUR AVAILABILITY TO KEEP YOU INFORMED ON THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE SITUATION, PLEASE ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

.../3

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

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ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
MIN DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE
JIO

MIN ASTG FOREIGN MIN
DEFENCE PRODUCTION

ACTION: IH
SAM

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SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	DEPSEC-C	LA
PA	FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	EUR CN
FAS(EPPD)	EX	ISPP	PPA	DPR PAD
FAS(IRSAM)	UNP	MEN	FAS(ECO)	EO ER
GE	FAS(LC)	IL	TSL	LB
FAREP-P	FAREP-S			FAREP-A

AMMAN BAGHDAD BELGRADE CAIRO COPENHAGEN DAMASCUS
DAR ES SALAAM GENEVA JAKARTA KINGSTON KUALA LUMPUR LAGOS LIMA
LONDON MADRID MALTA MOSCOW NEW DELHI OTTAWA PORT LOUIS
RIYADH ROME SINGAPORE STOCKHOLM TEHRAN TEL AVIV THE HAGUE
TOKYO WASHINGTON WELLINGTON

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IN

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IN

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O.UN37764 AUTO
TOR 05.45 03.05.86

O.UN37764 1530 2.5.86 CLA

TO.
RR CANBERRA/6096

RP.
RR ALGIERS/390 MADRID/206 PARIS EMB/1592
RR ADDIS ABABA/108

FM. UN NEW YORK / REF O.UN37712

R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA - PRXIMITY TALKS

FROM FILE 415/2

START OF SUMMARY

DIALLO (SECRETARY-GENERAL'S OFFICE, SAHARA OFFICER) TOLD US ON 1 MAY THAT NEXT ROUND OF PROXIMITY TALKS WOULD BE HELD IN NEW YORK FROM 5 TO 7 MAY. PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE SAME AS IN FIRST ROUND BUT DISCUSSION WOULD TURN TO SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. THIS WOULD MEAN THAT PROGRESS WOULD BE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT AND DIALLO SAID IT WAS DIFFICULT TO BE OPTIMISTIC THAT ANY ENDURING RESULT WOULD EMERGE. NONETHELESS, SECRETARIAT WOULD DO ITS BEST TO KEEP NEGOTIATIONS ENTRAIN.

END OF SUMMARY

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
MIN DEFENCE
JIO

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

MIN ASTG FOREIGN MIN
DEP P M AND CABINET

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RESTRICTED

IN

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

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2-O.UN37764

ACTION: IH
SAM

OGE
JADG
JADA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	DEPSEC-C	PA
NZ	FAS(EANA)	CN	FAS(EPPD)	EX
PPA	DPR	SDA	FAS(IRSAM)	UNP
FAS(ECO)	FAS(LC)	FAS(MFS)	SAS	MEN
FAREP-P	FAREP-S			FAREP-A

AMMAN BAGHDAD CAIRO DAMASCUS LAGOS LONDON MALTA RIYADH
TEHRAN TEL AVIV WASHINGTON

IN

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

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IN



243
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INFO: UNP
COPY NO. 1

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.UN37712 TLIN
TOR 07.49 29.04.86

O.UN37712 1730 28.4.86 CLA

TO.
RR CANBERRA/6044

RP.
RR ALGIERS/389 PARIS EMB/1589 MADRID/205
RR ADDIS ABABA/107

FM. UN NEW YORK /

935/28/2

R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA : PROXIMITY TALKS

FROM FILE 415/2

START OF SUMMARY

MOROCCANS CLAIM THAT FIRST ROUND OF PROXIMITY TALKS IN NEW YORK WENT WELL BUT WERE CONFINED TO PROCEDURAL ISSUES. SECOND ROUND, TO FOCUS ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AND TO BEGIN ON 5 MAY, WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT.

END OF SUMMARY

MOROCCAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE, ALAOUI, CALLED ON WOOLCOTT ON 24 APRIL, TO BRIEF HIM ON RECENT PROXIMITY TALKS ON WESTERN SAHARA. ALAOUI PRESENTED HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ALONG FAMILIAR LINES, INCLUDING ALGERIA'S 'ALMOST AUTOMATIC MAJORITY' IN UNGA AND AT OAU. HE EMPHASISED THAT WHILE MOROCCO WAS NO LONGER PREPARED TO WORK THROUGH THE OAU OR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, IT HAD NEVER RULED OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF USING THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S GOOD OFFICES. THE LATTER HAD THEREFORE CONSULTED WITH DIOUF, CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU, WHO HAD THEN SENT ENVOYS TO MOROCCO AND ALGERIA TO DISCUSS PROXIMITY TALKS AND THE RESPONSE FROM BOTH SIDES HAD BEEN POSITIVE. THE MOROCCAN AMBASSADOR PASSED TO US A COPY OF KING HASSAN'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S PROPOSAL (SENT BY FAX).

2. BETWEEN 9-14 APRIL, THERE HAD BEEN FOUR LOTS OF DISCUSSIONS, EACH OF WHICH HAD INVOLVED THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND THE SENEGALESE MINISTER OF DEFENCE. THE DISCUSSIONS HAD BEEN LIMITED TO THE FRAMEWORK OF FUTURE DISCUSSIONS AND THE ROLE OF THE U.N.: THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PRESENTED A DOCUMENT ON THESE ASPECTS. THERE WAS NO/NO DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS SUCH AS A CEASEFIRE OR A REFERENDUM. ALL THE PARTIES HAD ACCEPTED SUCH A ROLE FOR THE U.N. AND, AS A RESULT, A SECOND ROUND WOULD BEGIN GAXLJF 5 MAY.

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MOROCCO WAS VERY PLEASED AT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S INITIATIVE, WHICH IT SAW AS THE BEST WAY OUT OF THE CURRENT IMPASSE, INDEED THE ONLY WAY OUT OF IT. IF MATTERS HAD STAYED AS THEY WERE, THEY COULD HAVE LED TO WAR BETWEEN ALGERIA AND MOROCCO.

3. ALAOUI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE NEXT ROUND WOULD CONFRONT MORE DIFFICULT ISSUES. HE FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT COUNTRIES SHOWED SUPPORT FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S INITIATIVE AND THAT THEY SO INFORM ALGERIA.

4. WOOLCOTT THANKED ALAOUI FOR HIS BRIEFING. AS FAR AS AUSTRALIA WAS CONCERNED, IT SUPPORTED EFFORTS BY THE APPROPRIATE REGIONAL BODY TO ENGAGE THE PARTIES IN EFFORTS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS. IT COULD UNDERSTAND MOROCCO'S CONCERNS OVER THE OAU AND UNGA HANDLING OF THE SAHARA ISSUE. AUSTRALIA HAD ALWAYS SUPPORTED THE FULLEST USE OF BEING MADE OF THE MEDIATION/CONCILIATION ROLE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. AS ALAOUI HAD MENTIONED OUR MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, WOOLCOTT EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE MATTER WOULD NOT COME BEFORE THE COUNCIL. ALAOUI SAID HE HOPED SO TOO BUT THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE A POSSIBILITY THAT THE COUNCIL MIGHT BE ASKED TO SUPPORT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON MATTERS SUCH AS A CEASEFIRE OR REFERENDUM. (HIS REMARKS ON THIS POINT WERE OBSCURE).

5. ALAOUI SAID THE ALGERIANS WERE MAINTAINING THEIR INSISTANCE ON DIRECT TALKS BUT THIS REMAINED UNACCEPTABLE TO MOROCCO. FURTHERMORE, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAD MADE CLEAR THAT THESE TALKS WOULD BE INDIRECT IN NATURE AND IT WAS ON THE BASIS THAT MOROCCO HAD AGREED. THE PUSH FOR DIRECT TALKS WAS A NEGOTIATING TACTIC.

6. WE ARE TALKING TO SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS LATER IN THE WEEK AND WILL FORWARD A FURTHER REPORT AT THAT STAGE.

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Subject Heading or Summary of Text:

WESTERN SAHARA

HEREWITH COPY OF LETTER OF 6 APRIL FROM KING HASSAN
TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, WITH CONDITIONS OF MOROCCAN
PARTICIPATION IN THE PROXIMITY TALKS.

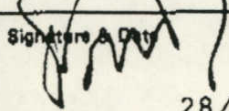
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UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

April 6, 1986

Mr. Javier PERES DE CUELLAR
Secretary General of the Organization of
the United Nations
New York

Mr. Secretary General,

We did receive your letter of March 20, 1986.

You inform Us of your decision to offer, in cooperation with the current President of the Organization of African Unity, your good offices to the parties to the conflict in Western Sahara, in accordance with Resolution A/Res/40/50 of the United Nations ' General Assembly.

I - You invite Us to appoint a plenipotentiary representative to begin in New York, on April 8, 1986, under your auspices and in the presence of a personal representative of Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal and current President of the Organization of African Unity, negotiations in view of the establishment of a cease-fire and the organization of a referendum in Western Sahara.

Mr. Abbas El Kissi, Secretary General of Our Government, who enjoys all Our trust, will represent Morocco during the planned negotiations and will lead the Moroccan delegation which will attend them.

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3228/2

- 2 -

II - We will participate to the works you have offered to conduct only under the express condition, as you kindly underlined it in your above mentioned letter of March 20, that the negotiations will take place separately between the parties to the conflict.

III - It seems to Us that some clarifications and precisions should previously be given so as to avoid any misunderstanding that could eventually and unusefully impede your action, and particularly in order to allow your endeavor to open on to the peace We earnestly call for in our Region and for which We have never ceased to work :

As you know, Morocco is no longer a member of the Organization of African Unity. Its decision of withdrawal was exclusively motivated by the fact that the last resolutions taken by this Organization concerning Western Sahara, were devoid of any legal basis insofar as they contravened the previous decisions of the Organization of African Unity, its Charter, as well as the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Therefore, since Morocco is no longer a member of the O.A.U., it cannot consider itself under the jurisdiction of its jurisdiction of this Organization.

While announcing Our decision to withdraw from the Organization of African Unity, We nevertheless proclaimed that Morocco is and will remain African. And in fact, since we left the O.A.U., our bilateral cooperation with each African country has never been so deep and fruitfull.

Therefore, knowing Our brother, President Abdou Diouf, knowing his will for peace and justice, We can not but express Our satisfaction for the assistance he can give you, personally or through his representative, in the task you are undertaking.

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3228/3

- 3 -

IV - Like you, Mr. Secretary General, We think that your initiative constitutes today a vital imperative for Our sub-Region of the Maghreb. Therefore, be assured that neither patience, nor perseverance, nor, most of all, the political will to achieve our aims will be lacking on Our side. These are, according to Us, so many conditions, if not cardinal virtues, without which no success could be seriously envisaged.

Wishing you full success, We renew to you, Mr. Secretary General, the assurances of Our high consideration.

Hassan II
King of Morocco

SAHS

IN FACSIMILE - HISTORY SLIP

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R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA - PROXIMITY TALKS

START OF SUMMARY

IN A LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER, THE ''PRESIDENT'' OF THE ''SAHRAOUI ARAB DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC'' (SADR) CLAIMS THAT, AT THE RECENT FIRST ROUND OF PROXIMITY TALKS AT UN HEADQUARTERS, MOROCCO HAS DEMONSTRATED AN ATTITUDE OF CONTINUING INTRANSIGENCE, ITS OBJECTIVES BEING TO HOLD ONLY A SHAM REFERENDUM, TO GAIN TIME AND TO BRING TO AN END ITS DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION.

END OF SUMMARY

WE RECEIVED ON 27 APRIL, UNDER COVER OF A NOTE VERBALE FROM THE SADR 'MISSION' IN ALGIERS, A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE PRIME MINISTER FROM THE 'PRESIDENT' OF SADR AND SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE POLISARIO FRONT, MOHAMED ABDELAZIZ, DATED 21 APRIL, 1986. WE ARE AS YET UNABLE TO DETERMINE EXACTLY WHICH GOVERNMENTS HAVE RECEIVED THIS LETTER, RECIPIENTS INCLUDING AT LEAST ONE NON-MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AS WELL AS SOME WHICH ABSTAINED ON UN RESOLUTION 40/50. SOME COUNTRIES WHICH VOTED FOR RES 40/50 WERE APPROACHED BY SADR BEFORE THE FIRST ROUND OF PROXIMITY TALKS.

2. WHILE WE WILL FORWARD BY BAG (TO CANBERRA ONLY) THE ORIGINAL OF THE SADR LETTER, THE FOLLOWING IS OUR TRANSLATION OF THE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS OF IT:

QUOTE

AS YOU ARE AWARE, THE CHIEFS OF STATE OF AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS FORMULATED, AT THE 19TH OAU SUMMIT IN 1983, A PEACE PLAN FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA QUESTION.

THIS PEACE PLAN, WHICH WAS FORMULATED AFTER MUCH EFFORT AND STUDY, WAS RATIFIED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT.

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THUS, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS ADOPTED RESOLUTION 40/50 AT ITS 40TH SESSION IN WHICH IT 'AGAIN REQUESTS, TO THAT END, THE TWO PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO AND THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF SAGUIA EL HAMRA AND RIO DE ORO TO UNDERTAKE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS, IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME, WITH A VIEW TO BRINGING ABOUT A CEASE-FIRE TO CREATE THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR A PEACEFUL AND FAIR REFERENDUM FOR SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA, A REFERENDUM WITHOUT ANY ADMINISTRATIVE OR MILITARY CONSTRAINTS, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICA UNITY AND THE UNITED NATIONS''. IT ALSO MANDATED THE PRESIDENT OF THE OAU AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE U.N. TO WORK 'TO PERSUADE THE TWO PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT, TO NEGOTIATE, IN CONFORMITY WITH RESOLUTION AHG/RES104(XIX) OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND THE PRESENT RESOLUTION, THE TERMS OF A CEASE-FIRE AND THE MODALITIES FOR ORGANISING THE SAID REFERENDUM''.

IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THEIR MANDATE, THE PRESIDENT OF THE OAU AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE U.N. PROPOSED TO US THEIR GOOD OFFICES IN INVITING US TO SEND A PLENIPOTENTIARY DELEGATION TO THE HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE U.N. AT NEW YORK, ON THE 8TH APRIL, IN ORDER TO ENTER INTO PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS TO LEAD TO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO BELLIGERENTS IN CONFORMITY WITH THE CONTENTS OF RESOLUTION 40/50 OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND RESOLUTION 104 OF THE OAU.

PROMPTED BY A DESIRE FOR PEACE AND CONCERNED TO ENSURE THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE SUCCESS OF THIS PEACE PLAN, WE SENT A HIGH LEVEL DELEGATION (TO NEW YORK) WHICH HAD PRELIMINARY CONTACTS, FROM 9-14 APRIL 1986, WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE OAU.

OUR DELEGATION REITERATED TO THE RELEVANT U.N. AND OAU OFFICIALS THE WILLINGNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SADR AND OF THE POLISARIO FRONT IN RESPECT OF THE COMPLETE APPLICATION OF RESOLUTION 40/50 OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE U.N.

AT THIS STAGE OF THESE PRELIMINARY CONVERSATIONS WE CAN ONLY OBSERVE WITH MUCH REGRET AND CONCERN THAT THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO REMAINS INTRANSIGENT IN ITS STAND AGAINST A POLITICAL SOLUTION.

INDEED, THE KING OF MOROCCO, WHO SENT A DELEGATION TO THESE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS, HAS PUBLISHED A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE U.N. IN WHICH HE CONTINUES TO REQUEST GOOD OFFICES WHILE AT THE SAME TIME REJECTING THE BASIS AND THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE PEACEFUL SOLUTION ADVOCATED BY THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND CONTAINED IN RESOLUTION 40/50.

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THUS, THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO REFUSES NOT ONLY DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE POLISARIO FRONT, BUT ALSO REFUSES TO WITHDRAW ITS OCCUPATION FORCES, ITS ADMINISTRATION AND ITS COLONY OF SETTLERS, SUCH WITHDRAWAL CONSTITUTING THE NECESSARY AND OBLIGATORY GUARANTEE FOR THE FREE EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE WEST SAHARAN PEOPLE.

IT IS THEREFORE OBVIOUS THAT THE MOROCCAN DEMARCHE IS AIMED ONLY AT OBTAINING A SEMBLANCE OF A REFERENDUM UNDER ITS OCCUPATION.

IN SENDING A DELEGATION TO NEW YORK, MOROCCO IS ONLY SEEKING TO GAIN TIME AND TO END ITS DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION WITHOUT IN ANY WAY CHANGING ITS INTRANSIGENT ATTITUDE.

FOR ITS PART, THE POLISARIO FRONT IS AGREEABLE TO RETURNING ONCE MORE TO NEW YORK ON 5 MAY 1986 FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THESE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS, WITH THE HOPE THAT THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MIGHT DEPLOY FURTHER EFFORTS WITH A VIEW TO LEADING MOROCCO TO ACCEPT THE PEACE PLAN WHICH CONSTITUTES THE SOLE REALISTIC MEANS OF ACHIEVING A DURABLE AND FINAL SOLUTION.

WE WISHED TO KEEP YOU INFORMED OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAUSE OF OUR PEOPLE, WHO COUNT ON YOUR FRIENDLY AND BROTHERLY SUPPORT.

UNQUOTE

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RIYADH ROME SINGAPORE STOCKHOLM TEHRAN TEL AVIV THE HAGUE
TOKYO WASHINGTON WELLINGTON

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UN BID TO RESOLVE SAHARA DISPUTE BEGINS TOMORROW
SAHARA

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UNITED NATIONS, APRIL 8 REUTER SECRETARY GENERAL JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR HAS INVITED REPRESENTATIVES OF MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT TO BEGIN SEPARATE TALKS WITH HIM TOMORROW IN A BID TO RESOLVE A DISPUTE OVER THE WESTERN SAHARA; THE UNITED NATIONS SAID TODAY.

THE UN ANNOUNCEMENT USED THE TERM "PROXIMITY TALKS" AND SAID THEY WERE EXPECTED TO LAST SEVERAL DAYS.

THIS IS A DIPLOMATIC DEVICE BY WHICH DISPUTANTS UNWILLING TO MAKE DIRECT CONTACT MEET WITH AN INTERLOCUTOR WHO RELAYS THE VIEWS OF ONE SIDE TO THE OTHER AND USES HIS GOOD OFFICES TO TRY TO FACILITATE AN ACCORD.

THE POLISARIO FRONT, WHICH CLAIMS A PART OF THE WESTERN SAHARA THAT MOROCCO REGARDS AS ITS TERRITORY; HAS FORMED THE SAHRAWI ARAB DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC; NOW A FULL MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU).
MORE

SAHARA 2 UNITED NATIONS

MOROCCO HAS WITHDRAWN FROM THE OAU IN PROTEST.

PEREZ DE CUELLAR'S ENTRY INTO THE DISPUTE RESPONDED TO A RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY THAT INVITED HIM AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU "TO EXERT EVERY EFFORT TO PERSUADE THE TWO PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT ... TO NEGOTIATE IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME" THE TERMS OF A CEASE-FIRE AND A REFERENDUM IN THE DISPUTED REGION.

THAT RESOLUTION, APPROVED BY A VOTE OF 96-7 WITH 39 ABSTENTIONS, OVERRODE MOROCCAN OBJECTIONS AND AFFIRMED THAT THE WESTERN SAHARA QUESTION WAS A DECOLONISATION MATTER - SPAIN WAS THE FORMER COLONIAL POWER - THAT REMAINED TO BE COMPLETED ON A BASIS OF THE EXERCISE BY THE INHABITANTS OF THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE.

THE POLISARIO FRONT'S DELEGATION ARRIVED IN NEW YORK YESTERDAY WITH MAHFOUD ALI BEIBA AS ITS LEADER.

THE UNITED NATIONS SAID MEDOUNE FALL, A FORMER UN AMBASSADOR OF SENEGAL, WOULD ATTEND THE TALKS HERE AS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF PRESIDENT ABDOU DIOF OF SENEGAL, CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU.
MORE

SAHARA 3 UNITED NATIONS

THE STATEMENT SAID REPRESENTATIVES OF ALGERIA AND MAURITANIA WOULD "FOLLOW THE TALKS" AS OBSERVERS.

ALGERIA SUPPORTS THE POLISARIO FRONT. MAURITANIA HAS FOREGONE ITS EARLIER CLAIM TO PART OF THE DISPUTED TERRITORY.

THE DISPUTE HAS ASSUMED NEW IMPORTANCE IN RECENT DAYS BECAUSE OF ITS POSSIBLE DIVISIVE EFFECT ON A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY NEXT MONTH ON AFRICA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

ALGIERS: POLISARIO GUERRILLAS FIGHTING MOROCCO FOR CONTROL OF THE WESTERN SAHARA SAID 10 MOROCCAN SOLDIERS WERE KILLED AND 17 WOUNDED IN A CLASH BEHIND MOROCCAN DEFENCE LINES ON SUNDAY; THE OFFICIAL ALGERIAN NEWS AGENCY APS REPORTED TODAY.

IT WAS THE FIRST POLISARIO REPORT OF FIGHTING BEHIND THE DEFENCE LINES ERECTED BY MOROCCO IN THE PAST TWO YEARS TO LOCK THE GUERRILLAS OUT OF THE DISPUTED TERRITORY.

THE AGENCY SAID THE CLASH TOOK PLACE AT EL-MESMER "BEHIND THE WALL", REFERRING TO THE RIDGES OF SAND AND ROCK WHICH EXTEND FOR SOME 1,600 KM ALONG THE ALGERIAN AND MAURITANIAN FRONTIERS.

THERE WAS NO MENTION OF GUERRILLA CASUALTIES.

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SUMMARY: SENIOR UN SECRETARIAT OFFICIAL INVOLVED IN PREPARATIONS FOR NEXT WEEKS FIRST ROUND OF UN/OAU SPONSORED PROXIMITY TALKS ON WESTERN SAHARA CONFLICT BRIEFED US ON DEVELOPMENTS LEADING UP TO ESTABLISHMENT OF PROCESS AND PROVIDED CAUTIOUS, IF SOMEWHAT HOPEFUL, ANALYSIS OF PROSPECTS FOR SOLUTION TO ONE OF MAJOR PROBLEMS AFFECTING MAGHREB REGION. TRICK WILL BE TO KEEP COMPETING INTERESTS AS AMONGST MAJOR PROTAGONISTS, MOROCCO, ALGERIA AND POLISARIO ENGAGED AND IN SOME BALANCE. MOTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN EVEN MODEST AND INCHOATE PROCESS VARY AMONGST PARTIES BUT SEC GEN WILL INVEST CONSIDERABLE DIPLOMACY AND INFLUENCE IN ENSURING IT MAKES SOME PROGRESS, EVEN IF THAT IS CONFINED TO KEEPING NEGOTIATIONS GOING WHILE WORKING TO IMPROVE BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ALGERIA AND MOROCCO. UN WILL NEED HELP IN ENCOURAGING TWO STATES TO DISPLAY NECESSARY FLEXIBILITY, AND HOPES TO ENLIST FURTHER SUPPORT OF TUNISIA, FRANCE AND USA. CDA, AS OBJECTIVE OUTSIDER, HAVING GOOD RELATIONS WITH BOTH MAGHREB RIVALS IS ALSO IN GOOD POSITION, ACCORDING TO UN INTERLOCUTOR, TO USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH RABAT AND ALGERS IN THIS

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POSITIVE DIRECTION.

2.REPORT:DIALLO,PRINCIPAL OFFICER IN SECGENS OFFICE,BRIEFED US AT OUR REQUEST ON DEVELOPMENTS LEADING UP TO NEXT WEEKS SCHEDULED PRELIM MTG ON WESTERN SAHARA INVOLVING REPS OF MOROCCO AND POLISARIO.UN INTERLOCUTOR HAS BEEN KEY SECRETARIAT OFFICIAL CONCERNED WITH COMPLEX PROCESS THAT HAS RESULTED IN QUOTE TALKS ABOUT TALKS UNQUOTE GATHERING WHICH MAY DEVELOP INTO FORM OF IMPLEMENTATION OF UN RESLN 40/50 AND 104 OF OAU.AS AGREED BETWEEN OAU AND UN AND WITH BLESSING OF MOROCCO,ALGERIA AND POLISARIO, FIRST MTG WILL BE CONSIDERED AS DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS ON BASIS OF INDIRECT CONTACT THROUGH GOOD OFFICES OF SECGENS OF BOTH ORGANIZATIONS.DIALLO SEES MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH IN GETTING MOROCCAN, ALGERIAN AND POLISARIO TO AGREE TO THIS INITIAL PHASE OF PROXIMITY TALKS.HE CREDITS INITIATIVE OF SENEGALESE PRES DIOUF AND ACTIVE INTEREST OF PEREZ DE CUELLAR(WHO VISITED DAKAR FEW WEEKS AGO)FOR IRONING OUT MANY DIFFICULTIES.DIALLO SURMISED THAT HIGH COST OF CONFLICT IN TIME OF FALLING OIL REVENUES FOR MOROCCAN AND ALGERIAN GOVTS ALSO PLAYED PART IN ENCOURAGING MTG TO TAKE PLACE.MOROCCANS LIKELY ALSO SEE OPPORTUNITY,BY AGREEING TO COOPERATE IN PROCESS,TO HEAD OFF CONDEMNATION AT NAM SUMMIT LATER THIS YEAR AND POSSIBLE BID BY SAHRAWI ARAB DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC(SADR)TO SEEK FULL OR OBSERVER STATUS IN NAM OR AT UN.TALKS ARE TO TAKE PLACE 08-09APR AT UN NYORK HQ AND WILL,APART FROM TWO MAIN PROTAGONISTS,BE ...3

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PAGE THREE WKGRO838 CONFD

ATTENDED AS QUOTE WITNESSES UNQUOTE BY REPS OF ALGERIA AND MAURITANIA, AND INVOLVE UN SECGEN OR HIS SENIOR ADVISERS AS WELL AS SENEGALESE DEFENCE MINISTER FALLE REPRESENTING PRES DIOUF AS CHAIRMAN OF OAU.

3. OUR CONTACT VIEWS PROGRESS THUS FAR AS VITAL, BUT IS NOT/NOT UNREALISTIC AS TO PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE. WHILE DEGREE OF POLITICAL WILL TO MOVE TOWARDS POLITICAL SOLUTION OF WESTERN SAHARA HAS BEEN MANIFEST, MOVEMENT FROM PRELIM TALKS EVEN TO AGREEMENT ON CEASEFIRE, LET ALONE REFERENDUM ON FUTURE OF WESTERN SAHARA, WILL REQUIRE BRIDGING OF VERY WIDE CHASM INDEED. ALGERIAN ROLE IS SEEN AS KEY TO SUCCESS, HENCE UN AND OAU AGREED STRATEGY IS TO KEEP ITS REPS AS FULLY ENGAGED AS POSSIBLE IN PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS, NOTWITHSTANDING ALGERIAN RELUCTANCE TO STAND IN AHEAD OF POLISARIA. TO THIS END SECGEN MET RECENTLY WITH PRES BENDJEDID TO PERSUADE HIM THAT ALGERIAN INTEREST IN WESTERN SAHARAN CONFLICT (EVEN IF ALGERIA CLAIMS NOT/NOT TO BE PARTY TO IT) REQUIRES ITS PRESENCE IF TALKS ARE TO HAVE ANY HOPE OF REAL ACHIEVEMENT. SECGEN ALSO SEES IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ALGERIA AND MOROCCO AS ALMOST ON SAME LEVEL OF IMPORTANCE AND WE WERE TOLD THAT HE IS PREPARED TO INVEST HIS OWN DIPLOMACY AS HEAVILY AS IS POSSIBLE IN EFFORT. AT END OF DAY SOLUTION WILL NEED TO BE ONE WHICH ALLOWS BOTH ALGERIA AND MOROCCO TO SAVE FACE, IN OTHER WORDS ONE WHICH DOES NOT/NOT ALLOW ONE SIDE OR OTHER TO CLAIM IT HAS BEEN CORRECT ALL ALONG.

...4

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

4. DIALLO OPINED THAT PARTIES TO TALKS WILL LIKELY NOT/NOT AGREE ON TERMS OF CEASEFIRE UNTIL THERE IS CLEAR PICTURE ON RULES FOR EVENTUAL REFERENDUM ON FUTURE OF WESTERN SAHARA. THIS IS VERY BIG IF, BUT IF MATTERS DO PROGRESS TO THAT STAGE, UN HAS ALREADY ESTABLISHED EXPERT TEAM TO ADVISE ON VOTER ELIGIBILITY QUESTION, WORKING ON BASIS OF 1974 CENSUS FIGURES PROVIDED BY SPAIN AND ADJUSTED BY SOME DEMOGRAPHIC LEGERDEMAIN TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL SIDES IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.
5. BEYOND ALGERIA, MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA, SEC GEN HAS SOUGHT ACTIVE SUPPORT OF TUNISIA FOR PROCESS GETTING UNDER WAY, IN BELIEF THAT MAGHREB REGION AS WHOLE STANDS TO BE MAJOR WINNER IF CONFLICT IN WESTERN SAHARA CAN BE ENDED. BEYOND THIS SEC GEN IS HOPING TO ENLIST SUPPORT OF FRANCE, USA AND SAUDI ARABIA IN PARTICULAR TO ENCOURAGE BOTH ALGERIANS AND MOROCCANS TO BE AS FLEXIBLE AS POSSIBLE AS NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED. DIALLO THOUGHT THAT INFLUENCE OF CDA AS OBJECTIVE OUTSIDER HAVING GOOD RELATIONS WITH BOTH ALGERS AND RABAT COULD ALSO BE MOST HELPFUL IN LENDING SUPPORT TO SEC GEN AND TO INCHOATE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. UN EFFORTS, IN EFFECT, WITH FAILURE OF OAU ON MATTER, MAY BE LAST FORESEEABLE HOPE FOR RESOLUTION OF WESTERN SAHARAN CONFLICT. OUR INTERLOCUTOR SUGGESTED THAT WITH ANY SIGN OF SUCCESS AT UN, OAU'S WESTERN SAHARAN FILE COULD BE LEFT WITH PRES DIOUF WHEN HE GIVES UP OAU CHAIRMANSHP IN FEW MONTHS TIME IN ORDER TO DEPOLITICIZE ISSUE FROM REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS VIEWPOINT. ALSO, IF NEGOTIATIONS ARE EVEN MANAGING TO CONTINUE BY THAT TIME, IT WOULD BE CONCEIVABLE THAT ITEM COULD BE REMOVED FROM UNGA 41 AGENDA, WORTHY GOAL IN ITSELF.
6. DIALLO HAS PROMISED TO KEEP US INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS.

CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.PA48539 AJFE
TOR 02.40 10.04.86

O.PA48539 1835 09.04.866 UNC

TO.
PP CANBERRA/8939

RP.
PP WASHINGTON/4056 UN NEW YORK/1986
PP ALGIERS/1025 GENEVA/2917

FM. PARIS EMB / REF O.PA48481

935/28/2

U N C L A S S I F I E D

MOROCCO : WEST SAHARA DISPUTE

FROM FILE 226/3/7

A REPORT IN LE MONDE OF 10 APRIL SAYS THAT KING HASSAN OF MOROCCO HAS DESIGNATED ABBES KAISSE "SECRETARY GENERAL IN THE MOROCCAN GOVERNMENT" AS HIS REPRESENTATIVE IN THE PROXIMITY TALKS ON THE WEST SAHARA DISPUTE.

2. THE KING IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT "IT IS CLEARLY INTENDED THAT MR DE CUELLAR WILL UNDERTAKE HIS TASK ... IN RELATION TO A CEASEFIRE AS WELL AS IN RELATION TO LATER ARRANGEMENTS FOR A REFERENDUM".

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
MIN DEFENCE
JIO

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

MIN ASTG FOREIGN MIN
DEP P M AND CABINET

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.PA48539

ACTION: PA
IH
SAM

LBCDB
OGFF
JADG
JADJ
JAFL

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	DEPSEC-C	LA	
MLS	FAS(EANA)	EUR	CN	FAS(EPPD)	EX
ISPP	PPA	DPR	SDA	FAS(IRSAM)	UNP
MEN	FAS(ECO)	ER	FAS(LC)	IL	TSL
LB					

AMMAN BAGHDAD BELGRADE BERNE CAIRO DAMASCUS DAR ES SALAAM
KINGSTON LAGOS LONDON NAIROBI PORT LOUIS RIYADH TEHRAN
TEL AVIV

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.UN37543 MJDE
TOR 08.08 09.04.86

O.UN37543 1500 8.4.86 UNC

TO.
PP CANBERRA/5883

RP.
PP PARIS EMB/1566 WASHINGTON/9780 ALGIERS/377
PP GENEVA/7398

FM. UN NEW YORK / REF O.PA48481

U N C L A S S I F I E D

MOROCCO - WEST SAHARA ISSUE

FROM FILE 415/2

START OF SUMMARY

UN SECRETARY GENERAL HAS INVITED MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT
TO PROXIMITY TALKS IN NEW YORK FROM 9 APRIL.

END OF SUMMARY

A SPOKESMAN FOR THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL , IN A PRESS RELEASE
OF 8 APRIL, ANNOUNCED THAT :

' 'ACTING IN THE FRAMEWORK OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION
40/50 AND IN THE EXERCISE OF HIS GOOD OFFICES, THE SECRETARY
GENERAL HAS INVITED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MOROCCO
AND OF THE POLISARIO FRONT TO HOLD PROXIMITY TALKS UNDER HIS
AUSPICES, STARTING WEDNESDAY, 9 APRIL.

REPRESENTATIVES OF ALGERIA AND MAURITANIA WILL FOLLOW THE
TALKS AS OBSERVERS.

THE TALKS, WHICH ARE EXPECTED TO LAST SEVERAL DAYS, WILL ALSO BE
ATTENDED BY MEDOUNE FALL, MINISTER OF THE ARMED FORCES OF SENEGAL AND
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ABDOU DIOUF, PRESIDENT OF SENEGAL AND
CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY. THE TALKS
WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE
THIRTY-EIGHTH FLOOR OF THE UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS BUILDING IN
NEW YORK' '.

2. THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH ADVISE IN REFTEL.

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.UN37543

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
MIN DEFENCE
JIO

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

MIN ASTG FOREIGN MIN
DEP P M AND CABINET

ACTION: PA
IH
SAM

LBCDB
OGFF
JADG
JADJ
JAFL

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	DEPSEC-C	LA	
MLS	FAS(EANA)	EUR	CN	FAS(EPPD)	EX
ISPP	PPA	DPR	SDA	FAS(IRSAM)	UNP
MEN	FAS(ECO)	ER	FAS(LC)	IL	TSL
LB					

AMMAN BAGHDAD BELGRADE BERNE CAIRO DAMASCUS DAR ES SALAAM
KINGSTON LAGOS LONDON NAIROBI PORT LOUIS RIYADH TEHRAN
TEL AVIV

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.PA48481 AJFE
TOR 01.59 09.04.86

O.PA48481 1724 08.04.866 UNC

TO.
PP CANBERRA/8888

RP.
PP WASHINGTON/4054 UN NEW YORK/1984
PP ALGIERS/1024 GENEVA/2916

FM. PARIS EMB /

U N C L A S S I F I E D

MOROCCO : WEST SAHARA ISSUE

FROM FILE 226/3/7

START OF SUMMARY

THERE ARE REPORTS THAT PROXIMITY TALKS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT WILL TAKE PLACE THIS WEEK IN NEW YORK THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL AND A SENEGALESE MINISTER.

END OF SUMMARY

LE MONDE OF 8 APRIL 1986 CARRIES THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE (OUR TRANSLATION) BASED ON VARIOUS NEWS AGENCIES' REPORTS, AND HEADED "INDIRECT TALKS WITH THE POLISARIO FRONT AT THE UNITED NATIONS".

BEGINS...

INDIRECT TALKS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT ON THE WEST SAHARA CONFLICT ARE DUE TO TAKE PLACE ON WEDNESDAY 9 APRIL IN NEW YORK THROUGH THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL, MR JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR AND THE SENEGALESE ARMED FORCES MINISTER, MR MEDOUNE FALL, IT WAS LEARNT ON MONDAY 7 APRIL AT THE UNITED NATIONS. ALGERIA AND MAURITANIA WOULD ALSO PARTICIPATE IN THESE CONVERSATIONS AS OBSERVERS.

MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT HAVE ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF "PROXIMITY" TALKS AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF DISCREET EXPLORATORY CONTACTS UNDERTAKEN BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND SENEGAL (WHICH IS CURRENTLY PRESIDENT OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY). A POLISARIO FRONT DELEGATION, LED BY A MEMBER OF ITS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, MR MAHFOUD ALI BEIBA, ARRIVED IN NEW YORK ON MONDAY. ON ITS SIDE, THE HEAD OF THE MOROCCAN MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS OFFICE IN GENEVA, MR EL GHALI BENHIMA, HAS DENIED INFORMATION COMING FROM ALGIERS, ACCORDING TO WHICH MOROCCAN REPRESENTATIVES AND MEMBERS OF THE POLISARIO FRONT WOULD MEET OFFICIALLY AND

.../2

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.PA48481

DIRECTLY AT GENEVA.

ON THE OTHER HAND, DURING THE "INDIRECT CONVERSATIONS" IN NEW YORK, MESSRS JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR AND MEDOUNE FALL WILL BE MAKING SUGGESTIONS TO THE TWO PARTIES FOR A CEASEFIRE AND FOR THE ORGANISATION AND TERMS OF A REFERENDUM.

ENDS...

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
MIN DEFENCE
JIO

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

MIN ASTG FOREIGN MIN
DEP P M AND CABINET

ACTION: PA
IH
SAM

LBCDB
OGFF
JADG
JADJ
JAFL

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	DEPSEC-C	LA	
MLS	FAS(EANA)	EUR	CN	FAS(EPPD)	EX
ISPP	PPA	DPR	SDA	FAS(IRSAM)	UNP
MEN	FAS(ECO)	ER	FAS(LC)	IL	TSL
LB					

AMMAN BAGHDAD BELGRADE BERNE CAIRO DAMASCUS DAR ES SALAAM
KINGSTON LAGOS LONDON NAIROBI PORT LOUIS RIYADH TEHRAN
TEL AVIV

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK



General Assembly

Distr.
LIMITED

A/C.4/40/L.4
1 November 1985
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Fortieth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Central African Republic, Comoros, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon,
Guatemala, Morocco, Paraguay and Zaire: draft resolution

Question of Western Sahara

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and with resolution 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960,

Bearing in mind its resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, containing the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

Bearing in mind its resolution 39/8 of 8 November 1984, on co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the question of Western Sahara, of 30 September 1985, 1/

1/ A/40/692.

Aware of the urgent need to put an end to the threat which hangs over peace, security and stability in north-west Africa and to promote a peaceful, just and final settlement of the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the undertaking by the Kingdom of Morocco to respect fully the results of a referendum on self-determination organized under the auspices of the United Nations,

1. Decides that a free and democratic referendum shall be organized, beginning in January 1986, in order to enable the authentic populations of Western Sahara fully to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination;

2. Requests the Secretary-General to take the appropriate steps to organize this referendum, taking into account the decisions of the Implementation Committee of the Organization of African Unity and United Nations practice in this field;

3. Accordingly requests the Secretary-General to undertake, in co-operation with the current Chairman and the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, the necessary consultations with the parties concerned with a view to the holding of this referendum;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly, at its forty-first session, a report on the implementation of this resolution.

"Adieu a jamais", said the
Moroccan FM.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

RESTRICTED

22 January 1986

INFORMATION.

IN REPLY
QUOTE

M.UN 15820

REGISTRY
CODEPARIS EMBASSY
ADDIS ABABA
ALGIERS
NAIROBITO.
REF.

CANBERRA

M.

TO FILE.

FM.

NEW YORK U.N.

CLASSIFICATION RESTRICTED

FM. FILE.

103/3/4, 415/2

POST
SEQUENCE
NUMBER

3782

SUBJECT UNGA 40 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARABackground

The long-running dispute over Western Sahara has been one of the most difficult problems on the decolonisation agenda in recent years.

2. Spain's unilateral withdrawal from Western Sahara left the territory subject to the competing claims of Mauritania, Morocco and the newly-formed Polisario Front. Morocco annexed the territory after King Hassan's green march and this set the scene for a protracted dispute between Morocco and the Algerian-backed Polisario Front. Mauritania subsequently renounced its claim to the Western Sahara in favour of the Polisario Front and its Saharoui Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), proclaimed in 1976.

3. In recent years Morocco has consolidated its military control of the territory while, at the same time, losing ground in its diplomatic struggle against SADR.

4. The OAU has been involved in the search for a settlement in the territory and in 1981 the OAU established an Implementation Committee which set out a plan for a cease-fire and a referendum in the territory. The issue is one which has been extremely difficult for the OAU but, since the adoption of resolution AHG/Res 104 (XIX) at the OAU Summit in Addis Ababa in 1983, which, inter alia, called for direct negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario Front "as the parties to the conflict" Morocco has refused to implement the resolution and in so doing has ceded ground to its opponents. The admission of SADR to the OAU precipitated Morocco's withdrawal from the Organisation in 1985.

UNGA 40

5. There was little discussion of Western Sahara during the Committee of 24 Session in 1984 and, as usual, the Committee did not adopt a resolution on the subject.

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6. The Fourth Committee had before it the Secretary-General's report called for in Resolution 39/40 which recorded little progress. The Secretary-General reported that he had had a number of contacts with representatives of the Polisario Front, the OAU, the Foreign Ministers of Algeria and Mauritania and, in the course of an official visit to Morocco in July 1985, with King Hassan. The King had advised the Secretary-General that, since Morocco had withdrawn from the OAU, it would be willing to accept the holding of a referendum on self-determination under the auspices of the United Nations.

7. The debate in the Fourth Committee was a fairly one-sided affair with over twenty delegations making substantive interventions on the subject almost all of which spoke in favour of the Polisario Front. In addition, the Polisario Front, the Minority Rights Group, and the Western Sahara Campaign for Human Rights and Humanitarian Relief appeared as petitioners before the Fourth Committee. As against this, Morocco and a group of Saharaoui pro-Moroccan petitioners were left largely to argue Morocco's case. Some delegations, such as Egypt, expressed concern about the situation without taking a particular stand in favour of either position. The only speakers to support the Moroccan position were Central African Republic, Zaire and Equatorial Guinea.

8. The Moroccan statement was delivered by the Moroccan Foreign Minister, Mr Filali. He asserted that Morocco had acted strictly in accordance with the Madrid Agreement of 14 November 1975 between Morocco and Spain and had, at all times, acted in accordance with international law. This contrasted sharply with the activities of Polisario which had not even existed during the time of the Spanish occupation of the territory. He contended that Polisario was a movement which had been created, organised and financed by a foreign power to serve unacknowledged purposes and reiterated Morocco's refusal to negotiate with it. He said that Morocco and Algeria had been engaged in direct talks on the territory and that weekly meetings had taken place between January and March 1985 during which Algeria had never once mentioned the Polisario Front but had instead put forward concrete proposals for the future of the territory. As far as Morocco was concerned the problem was one for the two countries alone to deal with.

9. He asserted that Morocco could no longer pursue its initiatives through the OAU as it had become a partisan organisation and he warned that, if the Fourth Committee were to adopt a similar resolution to that adopted at UNGA 39, no further movement would be possible. He therefore proposed that a referendum be conducted in the territory under United Nations' auspices.

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- 3 -

10. Djoudi, (Algerian Permanent Representative) predictably stuck to the OAU line and argued in support of OAU resolution AHG/Res/104(XIX) and resolutions 38/40 and 39/40 of the General Assembly. He argued that Morocco should enter into direct negotiations with the Polisario Front and accept the plan drawn up by the OAU. He contended that the Moroccan proposal for a referendum under the United Nations' auspices was a step away from peace.

11. As in previous sessions of the General Assembly, the Fourth Committee was presented with competing draft resolutions on Western Sahara. Algeria and its supporters circulated draft resolution A/C4/40/L2 on 30 October. The resolution was similar to resolution 39/40 and contained the same elements which had proven unacceptable to Morocco at UNGA 39 - namely, the reference to resolution AHG/Res/104(XIX) without reference to what Morocco regarded as the counter-balancing OAU draft resolution adopted previously at the Nairobi Summit, and the call to Morocco and Polisario as "the parties to the conflict" to enter into negotiations.

12. On 1 November a draft resolution A/C/40/L4 was submitted by Morocco and a number of its supporters. It called for the United Nations to conduct a referendum in the territory in January 1986.

13. Mozambique, Burkina Faso, Madagascar and Algeria then introduced a series of amendments (A/C4/40/L8-11) to the Moroccan text which would have had the effect of transforming it into essentially the same text as the Algerian draft.

14. Given the positions of the two principal parties, there was no prospect of resolving the difficulty caused by the competing draft resolutions. Morocco lobbied a number of countries to have the Fourth Committee defer consideration of the proposed amendments to the Moroccan draft resolution.

15. In the event, Morocco's efforts were unsuccessful and the Algerian draft resolution was put to a vote on 8 November. The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution (A/C4/40/L2/Rev1) 91 (Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Austria, Finland) - 6 (Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guatemala, Morocco, Zaire) - 43.

16. Following the voting on L2 Rev.1 the Representative of Morocco under Rule 116 of the Rules of Procedure proposed that the debate be adjourned on amendments L8-11. The Fourth Committee rejected the motion 54 (United States) - 27 - 45 (Australia, most WEOGs).

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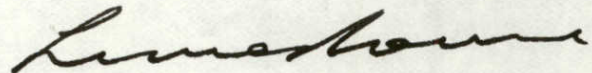
- 4 -

17. The Representative of Morocco then withdrew draft resolution L4.

18. In explanation of vote we regretted that it had not been possible to achieve a single resolution, noted that we had supported L2 Rev1 because of our support for the principle of self-determination although we could not support all elements in it, and regretted that it had not been possible to vote on the Moroccan draft.

19. At the conclusion of the voting, the Moroccan representative declared that Morocco was no longer prepared to take part in, or attend, any discussion or negotiation on the territory in the Fourth Committee, the Committee of 24 or other meetings of the General Assembly, nor would it consider itself bound by any resolution adopted by the General Assembly in its absence. He reaffirmed Morocco's confidence in the Secretary-General and stated that Morocco was prepared to listen to him whenever the General Assembly allowed him to act in accordance with the Charter and to seek a peaceful and fair solution through a referendum.

20. The General Assembly adopted the draft resolution 96 (Australia, New Zealand) - 7 - 39 on 2 December 1985.



(Leslie Rowe)
for the Delegation

Attachments

Resolution 40/50 : Question of Western Sahara
Voting Records
Australian Explanation of Vote in the Fourth Committee

RESTRICTED

EXPLANATION OF VOTE : ITEM 18
FOURTH COMMITTEE : WESTERN SAHARA

Mr Chairman,

My delegation regrets that it was not possible this year to arrive at a single resolution which would have commanded unanimous support in this Committee on the question of Western Sahara.

The appearance once again of competing drafts on this subject masks the fact that there is much common ground between the parties to the conflict. It is worth remembering that there was sufficient common ground for the General Assembly to adopt a single resolution in 1983 by consensus.

Yet, despite agreement on certain fundamental elements, little progress has been made towards the solution of the problem.

The Australian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution in L2 Rev1. We did so to demonstrate our support for the principle of self-determination in the Territory though we cannot endorse all elements contained in that resolution. My delegation cannot give support to any formulations which would prejudice the outcome of any act of self-determination.

As a matter of principle my delegation supports the right of others to bring forward resolutions in the General Assembly and we regret that the cosponsors of L4 were put in a position where they felt obliged to withdraw their draft resolution. Like the text that has just been adopted, it acknowledged the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination. My delegation welcomes Morocco's readiness to hold a plebiscite under United Nations' auspices and Australia would have supported the Moroccan draft resolution had it been put to the vote, while not agreeing with every word in it.

In conclusion, my delegation urges all concerned to enter into constructive negotiations to build on the common elements which already exist and give the people of Western Sahara the opportunity freely to determine their own future.

FORTIETH SESSION

02/12/85 05:30 PM

PLENARY MEETING

MEETING NO. 99

VOTE NO. 1

ITEM NO. 18

SUBJECT: QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

A/40/906 X

RECORDED VOTE

96 YES 7 NO 39 ABSTAIN

RESOLUTION 40/50

Y	AFGHANISTAN	Y	DEMOCRATIC YEMEN		KUWAIT	Y	SAINT VINCENT - GRENADINES
Y	ALBANIA	A	DENMARK	Y	LAO P.D.R	A	SAMOA
Y	ALGERIA		DJIBOUTI		LEBANON	Y	SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE
Y	ANGOLA		DOMINICA	Y	LESOTHO	A	SAUDI ARABIA
Y	ANTIGUA-BARBUDA	Y	DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	Y	LIBERIA	Y	SENEGAL
Y	ARGENTINA	Y	ECUADOR		LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA	Y	SEYCHELLES
Y	AUSTRALIA	Y	EGYPT	A	LUXEMBOURG	Y	SIERRA LEONE
Y	AUSTRIA	A	EL SALVADOR	Y	MADAGASCAR	A	SINGAPORE
Y	BAHAMAS	N	EQUATORIAL GUINEA	Y	MALAWI	A	SOLOMON ISLANDS
	BAHRAIN	Y	ETHIOPIA	A	MALAYSIA	A	SOMALIA
	BANGLADESH	Y	FIJI	A	MALDIVES		SOUTH AFRICA
Y	BARBADOS	Y	FINLAND	Y	MALI	Y	SPAIN
A	BELGIUM	A	FRANCE	Y	MALTA	A	SRI LANKA
Y	BELIZE	N	GABON	Y	MAURITANIA	Y	SUDAN
Y	BENIN	Y	GAMBIA	Y	MAURITIUS	Y	SURINAME
Y	BHUTAN	Y	GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REP.	Y	MEXICO	Y	SWAZILAND
Y	BOLIVIA	A	GERMANY, FEDERAL REP. OF	Y	MONGOLIA	Y	SWEDEN
Y	BOTSWANA	Y	GHANA	N	MOROCCO	Y	SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC
Y	BRAZIL	Y	GREECE	Y	MOZAMBIQUE	A	THAILAND
A	BRUNEI DARUSSALAM	Y	GRENADA	A	NEPAL	Y	TOGO
Y	BULGARIA	N	GUATEMALA	A	NETHERLANDS	Y	TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
Y	BURKINA FASO	A	GUINEA	Y	NEW ZEALAND	Y	TUNISIA
A	BURMA	Y	GUINEA-BISSAU	Y	NICARAGUA	A	TURKEY
Y	BURUNDI	Y	GUYANA	Y	NIGER	Y	UGANDA
Y	BYELORUSSIAN S.S.R.	Y	HAITI	Y	NIGERIA	Y	UKRAINIAN S.S.R.
Y	CAMEROON	Y	HONDURAS	A	NORWAY	Y	UNION OF SOVIET SOC. REP.
A	CANADA	Y	HUNGARY		OMAN		UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
Y	CAPE VERDE	A	ICELAND	A	PAKISTAN	A	UNITED KINGDOM
N	CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	Y	INDIA	Y	PANAMA	Y	UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
A	CHAD	A	INDONESIA	Y	PAPUA NEW GUINEA	A	UNITED STATES
A	CHILE	Y	IRAN (ISLAMIC REP. OF)	A	PARAGUAY	Y	URUGUAY
	CHINA	A	IRAQ	Y	PERU	Y	VANUATU
Y	COLOMBIA	A	IRELAND	N	PHILIPPINES	Y	VENEZUELA
	COMOROS	A	ISRAEL	Y	POLAND	Y	VIET NAM
Y	CONGO	A	ITALY	A	PORTUGAL		YEMEN
Y	COSTA RICA	A	IVORY COAST		QATAR	Y	YUGOSLAVIA
Y	CUBA	Y	JAMAICA		ROMANIA	N	ZAIRE
Y	CYPRUS	A	JAPAN	Y	RWANDA	Y	ZAMBIA
Y	CZECHOSLOVAKIA	A	JORDAN		ST. CHRISTOPHER AND NEVIS	Y	ZIMBABWE
	DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA	Y	KENYA	Y	SAINT LUCIA		

24. At the same meeting, the representatives of Mozambique, Burkina Faso, Madagascar and Algeria introduced amendments contained in documents A/C.4/40/L.8, L.9, L.10 and L.11, respectively, to draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4.

25. The Fourth Committee adopted draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 by a recorded vote of 91 to 6, with 43 abstentions (see para. 28, draft resolution X). 10/ The voting was as follows: 11/

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guatemala, Morocco, Zaire.

Abstaining: Bangladesh, Belgium, Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Canada, Chad, Chile, Comoros, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Grenada, Guinea, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Nepal, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

10/ Subsequent to the voting, the representative of Vanuatu stated that had his delegation been present at the time of the voting, it would have voted in favour of the draft resolution.

11/ Statements in explanation of vote on draft proposals and/or the motion by Morocco referred to in paragraph 26 of the present chapter were made by the representatives of the following Member States: Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bolivia, Burundi, China, Costa Rica, Finland, France, Gabon, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Turkey, United States of America and Zaire.

/...

26. Following the voting on draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1, the representative of Morocco, under rule 116 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, proposed that the debate be adjourned on amendments A/C.4/40/L.8 to A/C.4/40/L.11. The Fourth Committee rejected the motion by Morocco by a recorded vote of 54 to 27, with 45 abstentions. The voting was as follows: 12/

In favour: Antigua and Barbuda, Central African Republic, Chile, Comoros, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, Oman, Pakistan, Paraguay, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Spain, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay, Zaire.

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Panama, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chad, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Haiti, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Portugal, Saint Lucia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela.

27. The representative of Morocco, on behalf of the sponsors, informed the Committee that draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 was withdrawn.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

28. The Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolutions:

12/ See footnote 11.

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DRAFT RESOLUTION X

Question of Western Sahara

The General Assembly,

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling its resolution 39/40 of 5 December 1984 on the question of Western Sahara,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 37/

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General on the question of Western Sahara, 38/

Recalling resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara, 39/ adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,

1. Reaffirms that the question of Western Sahara is a question of decolonization which remains to be completed on the basis of the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence;

2. Reaffirms also that the solution of the question of Western Sahara lies in the implementation of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which establishes ways and means for a just and definitive solution to the Western Sahara conflict;

37/ A/40/23 (Part VII), chap. X.

38/ A/40/692 and Corr.1.

39/ For the text, see resolution 38/40, para. 1.

3. Again requests, to that end, the two parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, to undertake direct negotiations, in the shortest possible time, with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations;

4. Welcomes the efforts of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to promote a just and definitive solution of the question of Western Sahara;

5. Invites the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and the Secretary-General of the United Nations to exert every effort to persuade the two parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO, to negotiate, in the shortest possible time, in conformity with resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) of the Organization of African Unity and the present resolution, the terms of a cease-fire and the modalities for organizing the said referendum;

6. Reaffirms the determination of the United Nations to co-operate fully with the Organization of African Unity with a view to implementing the relevant decisions of that Organization, in particular resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX);

7. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its forty-first session;

8. Invites the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity relating to Western Sahara;

9. Invites the Secretary-General to follow the situation in Western Sahara closely, with a view to the implementation of the present resolution, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its forty-first session.

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*

29. The Fourth Committee also recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft consensuses:

/...

SAHARA NEWS

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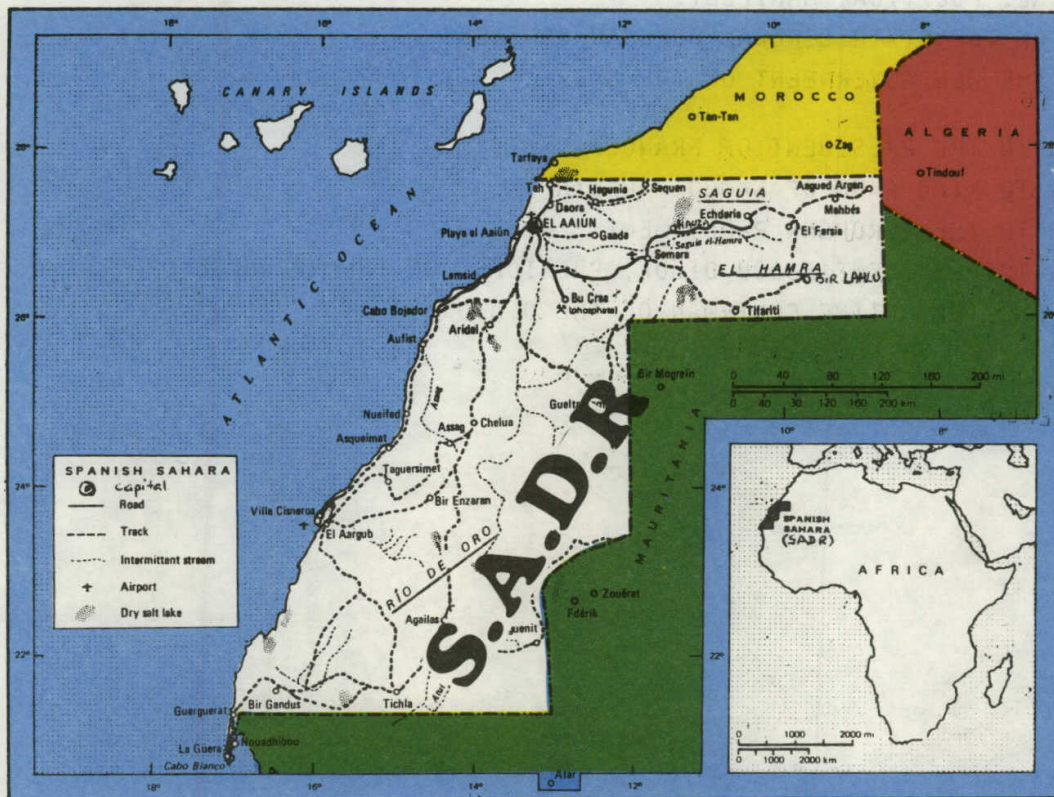
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THE ENTIRE HOMELAND OR MARTYRDOM



SAHARA NEWS

NO: 43

DATE: DECEMBER 1985

A SPECIAL REPORT ON THE
SIXTH GENERAL POPULAR CONGRESS
" CONGRESS OF MARTYR HOMAMED LAMINE
ABBA SHEIKH ABBA ALI " HELD FROM
7- 10 DECEMBER 1985 IN " SHAHID HADDAD BASE "
(LIBERATED TERRITORIES).

LEADER OF THE POLISARIO

HOLDING OF THE

EDITORIAL: POLITICAL MANIFEST.

HOLDING OF THE SIXTH GENERAL POPULAR CONGRESS
LIST OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE SADR.

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE.

A LETTER TO KING FAHD OF SAUDI ARABIA .

A LETTER TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

A LETTER TO PRESIDENT ABDOU DIOUF, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF
SENEGAL AND THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE O.A.U.

THE SIXTH GENERAL POPULAR CONGRESS
 " CONGRESS OF MARTYR MOHAMED LAMINE
 ABBA SHEIKH ABBA ALI " HELD FROM 7-10
 DECEMBER 1985 IN " SHAHID HADDAD BASE "
 (LIBERATED TERRITORIES).

POLITICAL MANIFEST.

The sixth General Popular Congress of Polisario Front - Congress of martyr Mohamed Lamine Ould Abba Sheikh Ould Salek Ould Abba Ali - held its sessions from 7 to 10 December 1985, under the slogan " the Entire Homeland or Martyrdom ". This congress constitutes an outstanding event in the process of the struggle carried on by our people since more than twelve years for his national independence and his dignity.

It represents an important acquisition which enriches and consolidates the successes achieved on his way of national liberating march.

The holding of the sixth congress occurs in conditions characterized by:

On the military plane:

The failure of the strategy of defense walls erected by Moroccan armed forces of invasion following their routing in mobil war.

The Sahrawi Popular Liberation Army faced this policy of wall by an effective usury war which develops constantly and goes deeper.

The congress noted proudly the action of SPLA who has frustrated all the enemy's tactics, as he congratulated himself of the degree of organization achieved by SPLA, whose fighting and sacrifice spirit is saluted. The congress bowed before the memory of our martyrs who have paved by their blood the way of liberty.

On the political plane:

The congress expressed his great satisfaction of the high degree of organization making conscious the people and his mobilization which mean cohesion, liveliness and enthusiasm always proved by our people who has never drawn back to any sacrifice.

General mobilization - to arm the people-which has raised the combat of our people to a higher level of ability and preparation , is nothing but the real expression of qualitative changes and determination of our people , for carrying on to its end the liberating combat in conformity with his slogan " the Entire Homeland or Martyrdom ",

If the congress has noticed the efforts deployed in the matter of organization and mobilization of our masses, it has also highly appreciated the struggle of our masses in occupied territories and bows to their heroic determination towards the policy of genocide and populating followed by the Moroccan aggressor.

On the administrative plane:

Perfection of State structures, their consolidation for a better participation of the masses in the administration of State affairs through the popular congresses and elected administrative councils.

The congress greets the remarkable progresses achieved by the national administration since the fifth general popular congress, on the way of solving the citizens' problems and the improvement of the quality of public services and administration.

On the social plane:

The congress noted with satisfaction the significant speed achieved in the social field and the particular interest accorded to it by the Polisario Front.

At educational level, the majority of children in school age have been provided with schooling (elaboration of a complete schooling program and training of teachers) parallel to the continuation of popular literacy campaigns.

A planned sanitary policy has been carried on, having effective results in fighting the diseases, in preservation and in training.

The creation of Ausserd wilaya which shows the abilities and human and material capacities of our people, testifying the population increase, is a result of this national and perceptive policy carried on by our people in the framework of a long term war, what was appreciated by the congress.

On the diplomatical plan:

The congress expressed its great satisfaction of the successes achieved constantly by the struggle of our people in Africa and in the world, among which the admission of the SADR to the O.A.U. and her recognition by numerous countries in the world are the most outstandings all by conferring all her capacity to this African consensus.

The adoption of the resolution AHG 104 by the Organization of African Unity and its universal consecration as a peace plan for a pacific settlement, also constitutes a victory for the cause of our people, because this plan has henceforth identified clearly the two parties of the conflict and has decided about the ways and means for a pacific solution to the

conflict, removing all the ambiguities on the question, rejecting thus the ~~theses~~ of the Moroccan aggressor regime.

The congress highly greeted the vast movement of solidarity through the world, of which enjoys our people's just combat for freedom and independence.

Since 1982 - date of the holding of the fifth popular congress - the Sahrawi people has achieved great victories, and has obtained acquisitions with an irreversible nature thanks to an unrelenting struggle, which gives a great dimension to his cause in the midst of the international community and making thus deeper the isolation of Moroccan regime, rebel to legality and to the decisions of international authorities, seen as a banished regime by the universal conscious.

The Moroccan regime is not only facing the Sahrawi people, but is confronting directly the will of the international community who is attached to a pacific settlement in accordance with inalienable rights of our people to freedom and independence.

Facing his isolation and his continuous reverses, instead of coming back to reason and to legality, the Moroccan regime resorts to the language of military escalation according to a colonialist logic supported by an expansionist policy of occupation. He devoted then himself to erecting constantly defense lines, continuing an adventure which bears within itself the seeds of the extension of the conflict to the neighbouring countries of the SADR, and of the danger of the cataclysm of all the region.

It is patently obvious that the strategy of defense line is not the expression of a position of force, but it proceeds from the real weakness of Moroccan regime, despite the attempts of the latter to delude the international public opinion by pretending the contrary- the walls policy, far from resolving the problem of the war in favour of the expansionist pretensions, has been transformed in a perilous and without perspective adventure, costly in men and in material for Moroccan invasion army, won by confusion and lassitude. This war is a haemorrhage and a heavy burden which becomes more and more unbearable for the regime, and its immediate consequences are the increasing deterioration of social and political situation, and an economical crisis without precedent in the history of Morocco.

The events don't happen any more according to the will of Moroccan regime. As a proof, the increasing discontent at all levels of Moroccan society. Armed uprisings are the signs of Moroccan people's struggle for imposing his legitimate aspirations for a dignified life, for the peace and against the continuation of war.

In the light of these given realities, it will be evident that the monarchist regime would be incapable of continuing his colonial adventure and his refusal of a political and pacific and just solution, if there was no support and aid of some foreign countries.

Not being able to support the war by her proper means, Morocco appeals to colonialist forces, and there appears the hostile and manifestly declared role of France towards the legitimate aspirations of our people for liberty and independence. What means the political and material aids of French Government to the aggressor in his enterprise since its beginning. If this glaring and deliberate prejudice beside the Moroccan emperor and the support of his expansionist policy, reflect the colonialist superiorities, they expose the stability and the security in the region... what leaves the regrettable impression that the France has preferred to answer the caprices of the Moroccan monarch to the detriment of the interests of north-west African nations who call her out. A question comes up: when will the France realize that by her hostile attitude, she exposes permanently the security of the region and compromises the cooperation with these countries. And more, she puts herself in an unstable situation regarding the will of the African continent and complicates her task. She - the France - who pretends making proof of more comprehension towards Africa, and proclaims aloud her availability of helping the continent to resolve his problems. Although it is an established fact that one can not put an end to the process of the revolutions, it is deplorable that this had not been really understood by the France, despite a long colonial experience.

The official Spain, when she constitutes the other part of the hatched plot against our people - beside the France and Morocco - by bringing a joint support to the aggressor, the Spain, who has committed odious crimes against our people's rights, following the ignoble agreement of Madrid, has returned to her duty of prolonging our people's trial and increasing his suffering and undermining his national sovereignty. Logically, the Spain should have rather returned to treason and prepared the faults inflicted on our people, especially since the latter has done no effort to open a new page in his relations with the Spain. Nevertheless the recent events, the subsequent behaviour of the Spanish authorities contrary to wisdom and to good sense make that the Spanish Government assume all alone the responsibility of deterioration of the Spanish-Sahrawi relations despite the will of the Sahrawi people and that of Spanish peoples. Whatever be the quality of the aid brought by Spain, France and other milieus comforting the Moroccan regime in his intransigence and prolonging unnecessarily the war, such an aid wouldn't allow the Moroccan regime to reverse the balance of power in his favour. On the contrary, it will only intensify his crisis and will sign away his future.

That is what has led the congress to reaffirm the attachment of Polisario Front to the principles of pacific solution based on the peace plan contained in the resolution AHG 104 (XIX) of the OAU, as well as in the resolution 38/40 reaffirmed by the UNO in its 38th and 40th sessions, as

well as by the movement of Non-Aligned countries.

Direct negotiations between the parties of the conflict-the Polisario Front and the Kingdom of Morocco-constitute the preliminary condition for opening a process of authentic, just and definitive peace, what supposes the withdrawal of colonial administration and forces and demolishing of all the populating colonies on our territories.

All by renewing through his sixth general popular congress his sincere availability and his firm will of working to find a negotiated political solution in conformity with the peace plan, the Polisario Front reaffirm the determination of the Sahrawi people to continue his armed struggle for imposing his legitimate rights to freedom, independence and for perfecting his sovereignty over the totality of his national territory.

On this occasion, the sixth general popular congress reminds that the Western Sahara is a zone of war, a bloody war imposed to our people by the Kingdom of Morocco. To that end, we appeal to foreign economical milieus to abstain from investing in our country or to undermine our sovereignty or to damage our goods and wealth or to participate in their pillaging of our natural resources. The Polisario Front will not be responsible of the harms incurred by artificial persons or individuals or the harms which could result from their adventure in our national territory.

The sixth general popular congress greets all the ones who have brought a political or material support to our people, as well as all who have not stopped to express their solidarity with our just cause at all occasions and in different international forums.

The congress greets particularly the Algerian people and his revolution under the direction of the N.L.F. party and at its head the militant Shadli Benjedid, for their firm support to our people's cause.

The congress appeals urgently to the Libyan revolution and to its direction to break off their alliance with the valet Hassan and to take the honourable way which is dictated to him by his duty of Arab nationalist before the liberating combat in Western Sahara, by supporting the struggle that carries on the people of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro.

The congress appeals to the leaders of Saudi Arabian Kingdom to put an end to their support to the aggressor who has sullied the world and the honour, without considering the bloodshed of innocents which he is causing more than ten years, and now an aggression dead end war which creates nothing but death and destruction.

The congress greets warmly the recognition by India and Yugoslavia, two influential countries of the Non-Aligned countries Movement, as well as that of Nigeria and all the countries who have accomplished the gesture of the recognition of the SADR, and greets all who have shown solidarity with our people in these moments of hard trial.

The congress appeals to all the countries and forces enamoured of peace, to bring an increased support to the struggle of our people, a view of materializing his legitimate aspirations for freedom, dignity and national sovereignty, and this to persuade Morocco to conform to legality and to a pacific solution.

The congress renews the entire solidarity of the Sahrawi people with the struggle of the peoples of Namibia, South Africa, Palestine and Latin America, as well as that of all the nations who struggle for national independence, social progress and for their right to a dignified life.

THE ENTIRE HOMELAND OR MARTYRDOM.

The Congress.

HOLDING OF THE SIXTH GENERAL POPULAR CONGRESS.

The sixth general congress of Polisario Front opened its meetings on December 1985, in liberated territories, under the slogan "The Entire Homeland or Martyrdom".

The congress of the martyr Mohamed Lamine Abba-Sheikh Baali, was held after an interval of three years from the fifth congress, in accordance with the interior texts and rules of Polisario Front.

It was an occasion to sum up the situation, and to carry out the considerably positive assessments of the Sahrawi people's struggle against the Moroccan expansionist aggression. The progress is considerable at all levels: political, social, military and diplomatic. The Sahrawi people is justly proud of the realizations and victories accomplished in the way of perfecting the liberation of the whole territories of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic.

As usual, the congress will decide on the main lines of the general policy of Polisario Front for the three coming years and will study the ways and means which will allow him to more consolidate and go deeper into the process of national liberation engaged since more than twelve years.

The congress of Martyr Mohamed Lamine Abba-Sheikh Baali held under the sign of determination and confidence, will carry out the election of new leading authorities of Polisario Front.

THE ENTIRE HOMELAND OR MARTYRDOM.

LIST OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE SADR.

The Sahrawi National Council had a meeting on 17 December 1985, under the presidency of Secretary-General of Polisario Front and the president of the Republic, in presence of the members of executive committee the secretaries of political orientation departments, as well as several staffs of different institutions of the country.

After having analysed the actual situation and having decided about the practical and adequate means for the application of the sixth general popular congress decisions, the Sahrawi National Council elected his new president, Brother Mohamed Ould M'barek Ould Rahal, member of polit-buro, replacing Brother Hamoudi Ahmed Baba, assigned to new duties.

The Secretary-General of Polisario Front and the President of the Republic introduced to those present, the list of the new government that the commanding council of the Revolution had formed during a previous meeting and which is composed as following:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| - Mohamed Lamine Ahmed. | Prime Minister. |
| - Brahim Ghali. | Minister of Defence. |
| - Abdelkader Taleb Oumar, | Minister of the Interior. |
| - Hakim Brahim. | Minister of Information. |
| - Mansour Oumar. | Minister of Foreign Affairs. |
| - Sid'Ahmed Batal. | Minister of Education. |
| - Neama Said Joumani . | Minister of Health. |
| - Bouchraya Hamoudi. | Minister of commerce. |
| - Hametti Abdelaziz Rabani. | Minister of Justice. |
| - Edda Brahim H'Moim. | Minister of Transportation. |
| - Hamad Mohamed Fadel. | Minister of Economical Development . |
| - Ahmed Fall M'Hamed. | Minister of Equipment. |
| - Mohamed Salem Ould Salek. | Secretary-General to the Presidency. |

THE ENTIRE HOMELAND OR MARTYRDO.

18/12/85

THE SIXTH GENERAL POPULAR CONGRESS,
 CONGRESS OF THE MARTYR MOHAMED LAMINE ABBA
 SHEIKH ABBA ALI, HELD FROM 7-10 DECEMBER 1985
 IN SHAHID HADDAD BASE (LIBERATED TERRITORIES).

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE.

Mr. President,

The sixth general popular congress of Polisario Front " congress of the Martyr Mohamed Lamine Abba Sheikh Abba Ali ", held from 7-10 December 1985, under the slogan " the Entire Homeland Or Martyrdom " attracts your attention to the serious situation of the north-west region of Africa following the destructive war and the intransigence and military escalation policy pursued by the King of Morocco against the people of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic.

Our people, Africa and the history will remember long after, that this colonial war has not stopped to benefit, since the beginning up to now , from the support of France. This surprising attitude which is against the principles and engagements of the socialist political forces, makes out that France share with Morocco the responsibility of the suffering of an exterminating war against a nation enamoured of peace and liberty, and of the permanent threat to the security of north-west Africa and of Mediterranean basin. This attitude by which the France is distinguished, disappoints all the hopes that had our continent's nations in France.

Today like yesterday, the King of Morocco does not hesitate to make of Paris centre of imagination and elaboration of his aggression war plans and the source of supplying and protection of his colonialist projects, which threaten the security of the region's peoples.

Our desire was that the French Capital city would be, on the contrary the starting point for the institution of the peace in our region and for dissuading the Moroccan regime from persisting in his refusal of African and international peace plan.

By adopting unanimously the historical resolution AHG 104 of its 19th summit, which constitutes a just and wise plan for starting a peace process, the O.A.U. offered to France an opportunity to stop her support to a war of aggression and to give the proof of respect that she has for the decisions of Africa and for the aspirations of its peoples.

It is surprising to notice that in the moment that was organizing in Paris the international conference calling to the " peace for Sahrawi people " the King of Morocco came to France looking for means of threat against the peace-for example " Mirage 2000 " aircrafts and other Kinds of arms-and to obtain financial aids , by using the French capital as a tribune to display his diplomatic activities.

Mr. President,

By being available to help Morocco by the arms and financial facilities that she asks, the France does not act only against the African will and against the resolutions of the United Nations and of the Non-Aligned Countries Movement, but she also contributes to weaken this will, despite the friendship that France pretends to have with Africa.

The sixth General Popular-Congress of Polisario Front which is held under the slogan " the Entire Homeland or Martyrdom " in a crucial moment of our people's history, appeals you urgently to take decisions in view of putting an end to military and financial support that France does not stop to bring to the war of the King of Morocco against the people of the SADR.

The congress also invites you to prevent the French financial institutions from continuing their investments in the occupied regions of our homeland - which are declared war zones - so that your Government can combine his efforts with those of Africa and of international organizations to make Morocco negotiate directly with the Sahrawi Government - the only way of instituting the peace, the stability, the concord and the fruitful cooperation between the peoples of North-west Africa and those of the North of Mediteranean basin.

Yours Faithfully

THE ENTIRE HOMELAND OR MARTYRDOM.

The Congress.

THE SIXTH GENERAL POPULAR CONGRESS,
 CONGRESS OF MARTYR MOHAMED LAMINE ABBA
 SHEIKH ABBA ALI HELD FROM 7-10 DECEMBER 1985
 IN SHAHID HADDAD BASE (LIBERATED TERRITORIES).

A LETTER TO KING FAHD OF SAUDI ARABIA.

In the name of God, the Clement , the Merciful,

" If a community of faithfuls (converse each other), you must reconcile them, if one of them attacks another one, you must fight with the agressor group until he comes to the God's reason ".

Your Majesty,

The sixth general, popular congress of Polisario Front-congress of martyr Mohamed Lamine Abba Sheikh Abba Ali-held from 7-10 December 1985, under the slogan " The Entire Homeland or Martyrdom ", expresses to you the deep indignation of the muslim Sahrawi people, who defends Islam and works constantly to spread its principles and its education . Indignation coming from his deep feeling of being a part of Arab nation on one hand, and seeing on the other hand, his right to existence and to independence threatened with usurpation by the tanks and aircrafts of an Arab and muslim State. Islam " reproves that the muslims' blood be sheded unjustly, that their lands be envaded and their properties be pillaged " , an Arab country is exposed to genocide by the means of Arab machines, finance and arms.

Your Majesty,

Your support to the regime of Hassan II, the considerable financial aids that you grant to him , will allow him and will encourage him to continue his criminal project consisting of occupying the territory of an Arab and Muslim nation , whose only crime is to refuse to submit himself to nothing but to his firm will of lieving free and independent in his entire nomeland.

Your Majesty,

Your financial support to King Hassan II of Morocco, which is used to buy death and destruction machines, and which will be ended by being lost in the extends of the desert, won't resolve the problem. In fact, the war will not get to its end as long as the victory of the Sahrawi people is not realized and the defeat of the agressor regime of Morocco is not done.

Does the Majesty know that these financial suicides are used to buy especially the bombs which were at the origin of the death of hundreds and hundreds of Arab and muslim children and women ?

Does the Majesty know that this money is expensed in the desert for the construction of walls which wear out the energies of Morocco and provoke the death of her sons? It is really sad, your Majesty, that the money of Arabs be transformed from the source of happiness and freedom of Arab nations, to the source of poverty and misfortune. This money should be used in the service of Moroccan economy, in the profit of the brother people of Morocco.

Your Majesty,

The sixth general popular congress of Polisario Front, conscious of the common destiny of the Arab and muslim nations, addresses to your Majesty, in the name of Islam and of Arab consciousness, to appeal to you and to invite you to abstain from nourishing and supplying a war of destruction carried on by the Moroccan regime, and ask you to display necessary efforts to bring back Hassan II to the reason. In that case your action will be highly praiseworthy.

Yours faithfully

THE ENTIRE HOMELAND OR MARTYRDOM.

The Congress.

THE SIXTH GENERAL POPULAR CONGRESS
CONGRESS OF MARTYR MOHAMED LAMINE
ABBA SHEIKH ABBA ALI HELD FROM 7-10
DECEMBER 1985 IN SHAHID HADDAD BASE
(LIBERATED TERRITORIES).

----- A LETTER TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. -----

The sixth General Popular Congress, " Congress of Martyr Mohamed Lamin Abba Sheikh Abba Ali " held from 7-10 December 1985 under the slogan " The Entire Homeland or Martyrdom " , conveys you its warm greetings and wishes to attract your attention to the dangers that threatens the north-west region of Africa, dangers which are the consequences of the aggression policy carried on by King Hassan II against the pacific Sahrawi People.

This people who suffers the war, is constrained to resist to it to recover his legitimate right to self-determination and independence, the right which is recognized by the regional and international organizations.

The peace plan elaborated by the O.A.U. in its resolution AHG.104 adopted by the United Nations in its resolutions (38/40 and 39/40) confirmed during its last session, and by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as by the Interparliamentary Union, constitutes the sole way for putting an end to this destructive war.

The international conference held in Paris from 23-24 " Peace for the Sahrawi people ", to which assisted several European parliamentaries and important prestigious personalities and delegations of all continents, gives a new dimension to the solidarity with the just cause of our people. This conference supported this peace plan.

Nevertheless, King Hassan II who still enjoys the support of some European countries. France and Spain firstly, keeps stubbornly to his intransigence, rejects the pacific solution and persists in the military escalation. What is more, he seeks to mislead the foreign societies aiming to make them invest in the occupied territories of our country and consequently make them participate in financing the war.

The sixth congress appeals urgently to the European Parliaments to assume an important role towards their governments so that they support the right of the Sahrawi people to self-determination and independence in accordance with the peace plan, and so that these governments stop their military and economical support to the Moroccan regime who deprives the Moroccan people of enjoying the most elementary human rights.

It is certain that security, stability and institution of favourable conditions of cooperation in the region ask Europe to fulfil his role of making Hassan II to open direct negotiations with the Polisario Front.

THE ENTIRE HOMELAND OR MARTYRDOM.

The Congress.

THE SIXTH GENERAL POPULAR CONGRESS,
 CONGRESS OF MARTYR MOHAMED LAMINE ABBA
 SHEIKH ABBA ALI HELD FROM 7-10 DECEMBER
 1985 IN SHAHID HADDAD BASE (LIBERTATED TERRITORIES).

A LETTER TO PRESIDENT ABDOU DIOUF,
 PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL AND
 THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE O.A.U.

Mr. President,

The Polisario Front, the unique and legitimate representative of the Sahrawi people, expresses to your excellency-by the voice of his sixth general popular congress, " congress of Martyr Mohamed Lamine Abba Sheikh Abba Ali " held from 7-10 December 1985 , under the slogan " The Entire Homeland or Martyrdom "- his high respects and his wishes of well-being to the brother people of Senegal. We praise enormously the efforts that you don't stop to display as the acting chairman of the O.A.U. in a view of perfecting the liberation of our continent and of solving the economical problems that confront its peoples. The congress appreciates your brave action for reinforcing the cooperation , the solidarity , the brotherhood and the peace. The congress admires your efforts for the realization of the ideals of independence, progress and liberation in Africa.

The Sahrawi people struggling for the liberation of his homeland, identifies himself with your step for eliminating all forms of racism, colonialism and expansionism of our continent. He expresses his constant attachment to the O.A.U. , to its charter nad to its principles. The admission of his country, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic to the O.A.U. his consecration by Africa and his recent election to the vice-presidency of the Panafrican organization are the concrete expression of the refusal, by all Africa, of the policy of aggression and of intransigence carried on by Morocco regarding the Sahrawi people.

Despite the sincere will of Africa, of finding a political solution to the problem of Western Sahara and the African consensus around the peace plan contained in the resolution AHG 104 , the Moroccan regime persists in his aggression, by violating the principles and the charter of the OAU., of the UNO, and of the Movement of Non-Aligned countries, like the racist regime of South Africa.

Your excellency,

As he has had the occasion to declare solemnly many a time, the Polisario Front renews his full availability of opening direct negotiations

with the Kingdom of Morocco in a view of putting an end to the fratricidal war which rages in Western Sahara and whose persistence threatens the peace and the stability in our sub-region. He reiterates on the same occasion his sincere will of cooperating with your Excellency in a view of applying the African peace plan incarnated by the resolution AHG of the (XIX) the Summit consecrated by the totality of the international community.

The Congress.

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

FORTIETH SESSION

Official Records*



207
FOURTH COMMITTEE
21st meeting
held on
Tuesday, 12 November 1985
at 10.30 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 21ST MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua)

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ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.m.

REQUESTS FOR HEARINGS (A/C.4/40/8/Add.4 and 5)

1. The CHAIRMAN said that, if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant the requests for hearings contained in documents A/C.4/40/8/Add.4 and Add.5.

2. It was so decided.

3. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he had received a communication containing a request for a hearing on agenda item 34. He suggested that, in accordance with the usual practice, the communication should be circulated as a Committee document (A/C.4/40/8/Add.6) for consideration at a subsequent meeting.

4. It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (Territories not covered under other agenda items) (continued)

Draft resolutions

Question of Gibraltar (continued) (A/C.4/40/L.7)

5. The draft consensus on Gibraltar was adopted without objection.

Question of Western Sahara (continued) (A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1, L.4, L.8 to 11)

6. Mr. GBEZERA-BRIA (Central African Republic), introducing the draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/40/L.4 on behalf of the sponsors, said that the problem of decolonization in Western Sahara had been complicated by the intrusion of extraneous factors. Legal strategems had been used to turn the Territory of Western Sahara into a so-called State, wrongly admitted to the Organization of African Unity, on the misguided assumption that that could replace a just and definitive solution based on the principles of the United Nations Charter.

7. The aim of the draft resolution under consideration was to promote a peaceful and equitable solution to the problem of Western Sahara. The preambular paragraphs set forth principles and commitments, while the operative paragraphs dealt with ways and means of solving the problem. He urged members of the Committee to support the draft resolution, which would make it possible for the populations of Western Sahara to exercise their right to self-determination, thereby contributing to peace and security throughout the region.

8. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso), introducing the draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 on behalf of the sponsors, said that the purpose of the draft resolution was to have the Committee endorse a peace plan that had been

(Mr. Bassolé, Burkina Faso)

adopted by the Organization of African Unity in its resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) and endorsed by the General Assembly, in its resolutions 38/40 and 39/40 and by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The many sponsors of the draft resolution, which reflected the consensus of the international community, urged its adoption with a view to expediting a peaceful, just and definitive solution of the conflict.

9. In conclusion, he wished to draw attention to a number of errors in the English version of the draft resolution which should be corrected. In operative paragraphs 3 and 5, "dans les meilleurs délais" had been incorrectly translated as "as soon as possible". In operative paragraph 5, the words "President of the Organization of African Unity" should be replaced by "current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity".

10. Mr. LUKANGA (Mozambique) introduced the amendment to draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 contained in document A/C.4/40/L.8.

11. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso), introducing the amendment to draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 contained in document A/C.4/40/L.9, said that the purpose of the amendment was to establish that a referendum in Western Sahara must be organized on the basis of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and independence and conducted on the basis of the peace plan agreed upon by the Organization of African Unity in its resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) and endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolutions 38/40 and 39/40.

12. Mr. RASON (Madagascar), introducing the amendment to draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 contained in document A/C.4/40/L.10, said that paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 referred only to the Secretary-General but that, since the Organization of African Unity had always co-ordinated its efforts with those of the United Nations, OAU should not be excluded at any level from the search for a solution to the problem of Western Sahara. That paragraph also referred to the Implementation Committee of OAU but should, at the same time, mention the efforts of OAU reflected in its resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX).

13. Mr. OUYAHIA (Algeria), introducing the amendment to draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 contained in document A/C.4/40/L.11, said that the purpose of the amendment was to clarify paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 by recalling that the parties concerned were in fact the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO and by emphasizing the need for parties to negotiate, as urged by the United Nations and the international community at large.

14. Mr. TANAKA (Secretary of the Committee) said that the Secretary-General wished to inform the Committee that he was not in a position at that time to prepare estimates for the programme budget implications of paragraph 6 of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 and paragraphs 1 to 3 of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4. Accordingly, he intended to incur whatever expenditures might be necessary and appropriate for those purposes, under the terms of the resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses to be adopted by the General Assembly at its current session.

15. Mr. ARTACHO (Spain), speaking in explanation of vote before the vote, said that his delegation agreed with the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations that the problem of Western Sahara was one of decolonization and that it could be resolved only by a referendum which enabled the Saharan people to express itself freely. That position was reflected in draft resolutions A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 and A/C.4/40/L.4; those draft resolutions were not incompatible and his delegation would vote for both of them. A just and lasting solution to the problem of Western Sahara required that all the parties concerned participate in negotiations conducted in a spirit of compromise and the Secretary-General and OAU should lend their services to facilitate that process.

16. Mr. ALAOUI (Morocco) said that his country had done everything possible to achieve a genuine consensus solution to a problem which threatened the peace of an entire region. It had welcomed the Secretary-General's efforts to give the United Nations a more active role in the matter and had reaffirmed its commitment to respect the results of a referendum. Algeria, however, wished to neutralize the efforts of the Secretary-General and draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 simply reiterated negotiating conditions which Morocco had already rejected, without making any reference to the decisions of the Implementation Committee of OAU which had envisaged detailed arrangements for a cease-fire and a referendum. His delegation would vote against that draft resolution because it would frustrate the wishes of the Saharan people, which must be consulted through a referendum.

17. Mr. TAIK (France) said that he shared the concern expressed by the Secretary-General over the delay in the exercise of the right of the Saharan people to self-determination, and the resultant tension in the region. His delegation favoured a political solution based on referendum organized without any constraints and under international control, as agreed upon by the United Nations and OAU, and regretted that the parties to the dispute were unable to agree on the implementation of such a referendum. It would therefore abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

18. Mr. OUYAHIA (Algeria), referring to the statement by the representative of Morocco, said that it was difficult to see how the people of Western Sahara might express their wishes freely when Morocco continued to refuse to negotiate with their representatives and held to its decision, declared on 6 November, never to withdraw its troops or administrative authorities from Western Sahara. In taking such action, Morocco was effectively denying the Saharan people's right to self-determination and independence. That right could be exercised only within the framework of OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) and General Assembly resolutions 38/40 and 39/40. Draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4, on the other hand, asked the United Nations to endorse very strange positions: to repudiate the consensus resolutions adopted on the question by the General Assembly, to view the question of Western Sahara as a non-colonial issue, and to legitimize procedures that simply accepted a fait accompli. Algeria would therefore vote against the draft resolution.

19. Mr. OYOUE (Gabon) said that he would vote against draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1. By settling into a pattern of adopting year after year repetitive resolutions that offered no generally acceptable solution, the Committee had not done its part to resolve the question of Western Sahara. The only real solution to the situation in that Territory was the holding of a free and fair referendum. In that connection, Morocco's very constructive attitude of consistently supporting such a referendum must be noted. Earlier that month, Morocco had invited the Secretary-General and the OAU leadership to consult on procedures for organizing a referendum in January 1986 and had unilaterally proclaimed a cease-fire in Western Sahara. Morocco's prudent and concrete proposals would lead to a settlement, thereby meeting the international community's concern to end a dispute between two neighbouring countries.

20. Mr. BROWNE (New Zealand) said that his delegation would vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1. It supported the involvement of the Secretary-General in seeking a settlement to the dispute over Western Sahara. His Government wished to make clear, however, that it interpreted paragraph 5 of the draft resolution as inviting the Secretary-General to co-operate in the search for a peaceful solution to the dispute and, while taking into account the OAU proposals, to explore any paths to a settlement which were consistent with the Charter and the principle of self-determination.

21. Mr. FAN Guoxiang (China) said that China would abstain in the vote on the draft resolutions.

22. The dispute over Western Sahara should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of the Territory. As to how that people might exercise its right of self-determination, it was China's sincere hope that all the parties concerned would conduct patient negotiations aimed at a peaceful settlement, conducive to stability in the Maghreb and to unity and co-operation between two neighbouring States. China believed that the Secretary-General and OAU should be involved in that process.

23. Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) observed that one of the two draft resolutions before the Committee had many sponsors while the other had very few. Zaire believed in defending the just cause in the dispute, however, and had therefore sponsored draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 and would vote against draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1. The latter resolution simply reproduced the resolution adopted the previous year on the question, whereas draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 contained genuinely new elements, reflecting Morocco's new political will in the calling for the organization of a referendum on self-determination in January 1986 and unilaterally declaring a cease-fire. He urged all members of the Committee to note the significance of those new elements.

24. Mr. AKRAM (Pakistan) said that he perceived similarities and differences between the two draft resolutions under consideration. Both resolutions recognized that the question of Western Sahara involved the right of self-determination and both acknowledged that self-determination could best be exercised through a free and fair referendum under international auspices. Although draft resolution

(Mr. Akram, Pakistan)

A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 set forth the procedures for such a referendum in greater detail, the two texts were compatible on those two central issues. They both left something to be desired, however. Draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 seemed to predetermine some issues that were better handled through diplomacy and draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 was not sufficiently specific on certain points. Since it believed that the adoption of both draft resolutions might help to reconcile the positions of the respective sponsors, Pakistan would vote in favour of both texts, and since the amendments to draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 were intended to make it conform to draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 - a procedure which would not be conducive to reconciling positions - Pakistan would vote against those amendments.

25. Mr. MASABO (Burundi) said that the peace plan set forth in OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) and General Assembly resolution 39/40 offered the only feasible solution to the question of Western Sahara. Clearly, only draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 conformed to that peace plan and Burundi would accordingly vote in favour of it. It would vote against draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 because it was completely at odds with the peace plan.

26. A recorded vote was taken on draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guatemala, Morocco, Zaire.

Abstaining: Bangladesh, Belgium, Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Canada, Chad, Chile, Comoros, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Grenada, Guinea, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Nepal, Netherlands, Norway,

Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

27. The draft resolution was adopted by 91 votes to 6, with 43 abstentions.

28. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to vote first on the amendments to draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4, contained in documents A/C.4/40/L.8-11, and then on the draft resolution itself.

29. Mr. ALAOUI (Morocco), speaking on a point of order and on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4, said that he was forced to call to the Committee's attention the real aim of the amendments under consideration, which were in reality not amendments but a new draft identical in content and source of inspiration to the draft resolution just adopted. The sponsors of those amendments had three objectives: to destroy the operational character of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 and its overall balance; to cancel out the efforts already undertaken by the Secretary-General by giving him an impossible mission; and to prevent the Committee from proposing to the General Assembly a just solution to the question of Western Sahara. Morocco, it should be added, would have been ready to consider and accept any constructive amendments.

30. Consequently, under rule 116 of the rules of procedure, he requested the Committee not to take a decision on the amendments and moved the adjournment of all debate on them. The Committee would then be able to proceed to vote on draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4, without the amendments.

31. The CHAIRMAN read out rule 116 of the rules of procedure.

32. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria), speaking against the motion, said that it invoked rule 116 not for its proper function of adjourning discussion of the agenda item as a whole but as an expedient to prevent decision-making on a particular point. I thus denied sovereign States the right to express their opinions freely on the subject of decolonization or to propose amendments to a draft resolution. He questioned the legitimacy of such a procedure and considered that, if accepted, it would have grave implications for the future of the United Nations.

33. Mr. BANERJI (India), speaking against the motion, said that the purpose of the amendments proposed to draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 had been to give the text greater clarity and bring it into line with the international consensus that had been expressed in such forums as OAU, the General Assembly and the recent ministerial meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held at Luanda. Acceptance of the motion would therefore thwart the will of the international community, alter the General Assembly's established position on the question of the terms and conditions for the decolonization of Western Sahara and deny the people of Western Sahara its legitimate rights and aspirations.

34. Mr. BAGBENI ADEHO NZENGEYA (Zaire), speaking in favour of the motion, said that the proposed amendments added nothing of substance that was not already included or implied in draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4, which represented a new and constructive initiative on the part of Morocco that deserved United Nations support. The aim of the proposed amendments was simply to destroy the draft resolution and reduce it to the same dimensions as the newly adopted resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1.

35. Mr. MAYE ELA (Equatorial Guinea), speaking in favour of the motion, said that draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 contained new elements that might help to solve the question of Western Sahara. Its operative part was sufficiently comprehensive in its present form and illustrated clearly Morocco's spirit of co-operation on the subject. In his opinion, the proposed amendments had been introduced simply to thwart that spirit of co-operation.

36. A recorded vote was taken on the motion by Morocco under rule 116 to adjourn the debate on amendments.

In favour: Antigua and Barbuda, Central African Republic, Chile, Comoros, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Honduras, Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, Oman, Pakistan, Paraguay, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Spain, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay, Zaire.

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Panama, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Chad, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Haiti, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Portugal, Saint Lucia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela.

37. The motion was rejected by 54 votes to 27, with 45 abstentions.

38. Mr. ALAOUI (Morocco), speaking on a point of order, said that the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 had hoped that the Committee would examine the proposal it contained in its totality, in order to take all interests into account and work towards a just, democratic and lasting settlement in Western Sahara. Since the Committee had been prevented from proceeding in that manner, the sponsors withdrew their draft resolution.

39. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America), speaking in explanation of vote after the vote, said that he deeply regretted that the two principal parties to the dispute had not found it possible to work for a resolution that could have been adopted by consensus in the Committee. Although it had been discussing the problem for 10 years, the General Assembly was still no nearer to a solution. While not objecting to draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 in principle, his delegation had abstained in the vote on that resolution in the belief that it was unlikely to advance a settlement of the problem. It would have voted for draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 had it been put to a vote, since that resolution represented an advance in Morocco's position. The positions set forth in the two draft resolutions were in fact very close and he hoped that the gap would be closed at the next session of the General Assembly, by means of a resolution supported jointly by Algeria and Morocco. Since the General Assembly had no power to impose its decisions by force, the only workable solution would be one which was acceptable to all parties.

40. Mr. BJURNER (Sweden) said that the paramount principle for any solution of the issue was that the people of Western Sahara should be allowed to express its wishes freely with regard to the future status of the Territory. Sweden supported the efforts of OAU and welcomed the resolutions it had adopted on the subject in 1981 and 1983. It also shared the concern expressed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his report on the issue. An unequivocal expression of opinion on the matter was required from the United Nations. Hence, a single text that could have been adopted by consensus, rather than two separate texts, would have been the best solution. Sweden had opted for resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 because it referred more explicitly to the principle mentioned above and to the relevant resolutions of OAU and the United Nations.

41. Mr. EGGERT (Finland) said that Finland supported the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination. It regretted that it had not been possible to implement the OAU resolutions adopted in 1981 and 1983, and hoped that the parties concerned would spare no effort to come closer to a peaceful settlement in the Territory. Finland would have preferred a consensus text but, in its absence, had voted for resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1. However, it would also have voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 had it been put to a vote.

42. Mrs. CASTRO de BARISH (Costa Rica) said that Costa Rica had always supported the two pillars of the decolonization process, namely self-determination and territorial integrity, and consequently had voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1, just as it would have voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 had it not been withdrawn. The two draft resolutions had put forward alternative proposals for achieving the same goal: a peaceful solution to the situation in Western Sahara, based on the exercise by the people of that Territory

(Mrs. Castro de Barish, Costa Rica)

of the inalienable right to self-determination and independence. She agreed with what the representative of Spain had said in that regard. Her delegation did not wish to comment on the divergences between the two texts, but neither could it ignore the promise made by Morocco to respect absolutely the results of the January 1986 referendum.

43. Her delegation had voted in favour of the Moroccan motion because the amendments proposed to draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 would indeed have altered that text substantially. Costa Rica's main concern was that a peaceful solution should be found to the problem that satisfied all the parties concerned and, above all, the authentic population of the Territory.

44. Mr. ROWE (Australia) expressed regret that it had not been possible to arrive at a single resolution, especially when there had been sufficient common ground in 1983 for the General Assembly in that year to adopt a single consensus resolution. Australia had felt that resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 deserved support in its efforts to resolve the problem, since it insisted on the principle of self-determination, although Australia would not support any kind of wording that could be construed as prejudging the outcome of any referendum. Nevertheless, it supported the right of other delegations to put forward proposals and regretted that draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4, which it would also have supported, had been withdrawn.

45. Mrs. CARRASCO (Bolivia) said that negotiations between the parties concerned, namely Morocco and the representatives of the Saharan people, were the only proper framework for peace initiatives in the region. The international community must do everything possible to create a climate conducive to reconciliation rather than confrontation. The Secretary-General had a major role to play in that connection. Bolivia had therefore voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 and against the Moroccan motion.

46. Mr. TAIX (France) said that France had abstained in the vote on the motion by Morocco for the reasons given in his previous statement.

47. Mr. KABAS (Austria) said that he too had hoped for a resolution that would receive unanimous support. Austria had voted in favour of resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 because it called for a peaceful settlement to the conflict, to be achieved through negotiations between all the parties concerned. Austria also supported the role of OAU and the Secretary-General of the United Nations in efforts to find a fair and peaceful solution.

48. Mr. AKYOL (Turkey) said that Turkey hoped for an eventual settlement of the question of Western Sahara based on the principle of self-determination for the people of Western Sahara. Turkey had therefore voted for resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1 and would also have voted for resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 had it been put to the vote. It had not been in favour of voting first on the proposed amendments.

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Tuesday, 12 November 1985

at 10.30 a.m.

49. Mr. MOHAMED (Sudan) said that Sudan was deeply concerned with the problem of Western Sahara because it was a member of the Executive Committee of OAU, which had considered the details of the proposed referendum. Sudan was in favour of holding such a referendum, under the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair process of self-determination and had therefore voted for resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1. It would also have voted for draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 in its original form, because it presented a number of positive aspects.

50. Mr. LIEROP (Vanuatu), noting that Vanuatu had been a sponsor of resolution A/C.4/40/L.2/Rev.1, said that had he been present during the voting on that resolution, he would have voted for it.

51. Mr. FILALI (Morocco) noted that, by adopting virtually the same resolution as it had adopted the previous year on the so-called question of Western Sahara, the Committee had opted for action that was ineffective and inapplicable. Morocco, on the other hand, had hoped by its draft resolution to gain wide support for peace and dialogue. Morocco had made repeated efforts over the past 10 years to reach a compromise that would provide for a peaceful solution, and had responded positively to calls for self-determination in the Territory. The King of Morocco, in his recent address to the General Assembly, had emphasized Morocco's desire to seek peace. Draft resolution A/C.4/40/L.4 had been the expression of that desire and the Committee's unfavourable reception of that initiative would only lead to continued and perhaps increased tension in the region.

52. Morocco and all its people would meet such attempts at destabilization and hegemony in the region with their customary calm and determination. Although Morocco was prepared at all times to seek compromise and dialogue, it would not surrender its principles and had now exhausted all the recourses available to it. The Committee, like OAU, had reached an impasse. Morocco therefore wished to declare formally that it was no longer prepared to take part in or attend any discussion or negotiation on the Territory in the Fourth Committee, the Special Committee of 24 or other meetings of the General Assembly, nor would it consider itself bound by any resolution adopted by the General Assembly in its absence. That did not mean that Morocco was looking for a way out of working for a peaceful and just solution, only that the way forward lay elsewhere. Morocco continued to place its confidence in the Secretary-General and was prepared to listen to him whenever the General Assembly allowed him to act in accordance with the Charter and to seek a peaceful and fair solution through a referendum.

53. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee had conducted its consideration of agenda item 18.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.

DISTR. GENERAL
A/C.4/40/SR.21
15 November 1985

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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Subject Heading or Summary of Text:

**UNSA 40 BIRTH COMMITTEE
WESTERN SAHARA.**

*Attached, as requested is our
EOV on Western Sahara*

*For IRSAM
SAM
IH*

935/28/2

205
FUN 2860/1

EXPLANATION OF VOTE: ITEM 18
FOURTH COMMITTEE: WESTERN SAHARA

Mr Chairman,

My delegation regrets that it was not possible this year to arrive at a single resolution which would have commanded unanimous support in this Committee on the question of Western Sahara.

The appearance once again of competing drafts on this subject masks the fact that there is much common ground between the parties to the conflict. It is worth remembering that there was sufficient common ground for the General Assembly to adopt a single resolution in 1983 by consensus.

Yet, despite agreement on certain fundamental elements, little progress has been made towards the solution of the problem.

The Australian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution in L2 Rev 1. We did so to demonstrate our support for the principle of self determination in the Territory though we cannot endorse all elements contained in that resolution. My delegation cannot give support to any formulations which would prejudge the outcome of any act of self determination.

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FUN2860/2

2

As a matter of principle my delegation supports the right of others to bring forward resolutions in the General Assembly and we regret that the co-sponsors of L.4 were put in a position where they felt obliged to withdraw their draft resolution. Like the text that has just been adopted, it acknowledged the right of the people of Western Sahara to self determination. My delegation welcomes Morocco's readiness to hold a plebiscite under United Nations auspices and Australia would have supported the Moroccan draft resolution had it been put to the vote while not agreeing with every word in it.

In conclusion, my delegation urges all concerned to enter into constructive negotiations to build on the common elements which already exist and give the people of Western Sahara the opportunity freely to determine their own future.

FAX
ENDS

PP

F. UN2860

203

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Subject Heading or Summary of Text: UNGA 40 : FOURTH COMMITTEE: ITEM 18:
WESTERN SAHARA

ATTACHED ARE COPIES OF THE ALGERIAN AND MOROCCAN
DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON WESTERN SAHARA TOGETHER WITH THE
SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT (A/40/692).

935/28/2

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A



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERALA/40/692
30 September 1985
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCHFortieth session
Agenda item 18IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLESQuestion of Western SaharaReport of the Secretary-General

1. At its thirty-ninth session, on 5 December 1984, the General Assembly adopted resolution 39/40 which reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

"Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

"Recalling its resolution 38/40 of 7 December 1983 on the question of Western Sahara,

"Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-ninth session, Supplement No. 23 (A/39/23), chap. X.

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F.V. 2370/2

A/40/692
English
Page 2

"Taking note of the report of the Implementation Committee of the Organization of African Unity on Western Sahara, 2/

"Recalling resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara, 3/ adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,

"1. Reaffirms that the question of Western Sahara is a question of decolonization which remains to be completed on the basis of the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence;

"2. Reaffirms that the solution of the question of Western Sahara lies in the implementation of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which establishes ways and means for a just and definitive political solution to the Western Sahara conflict;

"3. Requests, to that end, the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations;

"4. Welcomes the efforts of the Organization of African Unity and its Implementation Committee with a view to promoting a just and definitive solution to the question of Western Sahara in accordance with the resolutions and decisions of that organization and the United Nations on the question;

"5. Reaffirms the determination of the United Nations to co-operate fully with the Organization of African Unity with a view to implementing the relevant decisions of that organization, in particular resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX);

"6. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its fortieth session;

"7. Invites the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress

2/ A/39/680, annex.

3/ For text, see resolution 38/40, para. 1.

F.VN 237013

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A/40/692
English
Page 3

achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity relating to Western Sahara;

"8. Invites the Secretary-General to follow the situation in Western Sahara closely with a view to the implementation of the present resolution and to report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session."

2. This report is submitted in accordance with paragraph 8 of the above-mentioned resolution.

3. On 7 December 1984, I met Mr. Hakim Ibrahim, member of the Political Bureau of the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO). The views expressed by him in this meeting were in substance similar to those made in the statement given by him in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session.

4. On 21 February 1985, the text of resolution 39/40 was transmitted to the Acting Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) drawing his attention to paragraph 7.

5. On 9 May 1985, at the request of the Permanent Mission of Morocco, I received a delegation of a number of Sahrawi organizations whose representatives had spoken in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly on the question of Western Sahara during its thirty-ninth session.

6. On the occasion of the twenty-first session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, I met on 18 July in Addis Ababa with the current Chairman of OAU, His Excellency President Abdou Diouf of Senegal. During our meeting, he informed me that, while that organization remained very much concerned with the problem, a solution which might be acceptable to all the parties had not been found. At the same time this problem remained a source of tension in the subregion. I agreed with him that we would closely co-ordinate our efforts in the search for a peaceful resolution of the problem in pursuance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and OAU. I also discussed the matter with the Acting Secretary-General of OAU, Dr. Peter Onu.

7. On 18 July, I received Mr. Mohammed Abdelazziz, Secretary-General of the Frente POLISARIO. During this meeting, he affirmed to me POLISARIO's commitment to a peaceful settlement of the dispute in the framework of the relevant resolutions of OAU and the United Nations. In this context, he underlined POLISARIO's support for the recommendations contained therein with regard to the establishment of a cease-fire directly negotiated by the parties to the conflict and the organization of a referendum in the Territory. This has been confirmed in a telegram which I received from Mr. Abdelazziz on 4 September 1985.

8. During my visit to Addis Ababa, I also held a number of interesting and encouraging meetings on the question of Western Sahara with several African Heads of State and Foreign Ministers, including Mr. Chadli Bendjedid, ^{PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF} of Algeria and Foreign Minister Ahmed Ould Minnih of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

/...

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9. In the course of an official visit to the Kingdom of Morocco, I had a meeting on 20 July 1985 with His Majesty King Hassan II, who reiterated his Government's commitment to resolving the Western Sahara question peacefully. The King said that, since Morocco had withdrawn from the Organization of African Unity, his Government would be willing to accept the holding of a referendum for the self-determination of the inhabitants of the Territory under the auspices of the United Nations. The position of his Government as explained to me by King Hassan has since been conveyed to the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the Permanent Representative of Morocco in a communication dated 2 August (A/40/529).
10. On 29 July, I invited the Acting Secretary-General of OAU to inform me of the progress achieved in the implementation of the OAU decisions on Western Sahara to enable me to report to the General Assembly in accordance with resolution 39/40.
11. In a communication dated 27 August 1985, the Acting Secretary-General of OAU informed me that the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) had been admitted as the fifty-first member of OAU at the twentieth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, and that, as a result, Morocco had decided to withdraw from OAU. There has been, he added, no evolution on the question since then. The Acting Secretary-General stated that OAU was still preoccupied with the Western Sahara conflict, but that no progress could be envisaged as long as the resolution adopted at the nineteenth summit meeting remained unimplemented.
12. In the context of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the question of Western Sahara remains a matter of decolonization. It is appropriate to recall here that the United Nations and OAU, as well as the parties concerned, have been in agreement for some time now that a referendum should be held to enable the people of the Territory to exercise their right to self-determination.
13. I am deeply concerned by the delay in allowing the people of the Territory to exercise this inalienable right and by the fact that this unresolved situation constitutes a continuing source of tension in the subregion. In the circumstances, I appeal to all concerned to make renewed efforts to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara. As a result of the experience it has acquired in other situations involving the exercise of the right to self-determination, the United Nations is fully prepared to give every assistance in the organization and conduct of the proposed referendum in Western Sahara.
14. I shall continue to follow closely all developments relating to the situation in Western Sahara and remain ready to help and co-operate in the search for a peaceful solution to this problem.
-

F.W 2270/5

The General Assembly,Having examined the question of the Western Sahara,Taking note of the report of the Secretary General on this question, dated 30 September 1985 (A/40/692),Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the granting of Independence to colonial Countries and Peoples and with General Assembly Resolution 1541 of 15 December 1960,Bearing in mind Resolution 2625 (XXV) containing the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States,Recalling the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,Aware of the urgent need to put an end to the threat to the peace, the security and the stability of the Maghreb region and to promote a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the Western Sahara question,Recalling the commitment of the Kingdom of Morocco to abide by the results of the referendum of self-determination to be held under the auspices of the relevant International Organs,

1. Decides to organize, starting from a free and democratic referendum allowing the genuine population of the Western Sahara to fully exercise their inalienable right to self-determination;

2. Decides, in organizing the referendum of self-determination to fully abide by the African Peace Plan contained in the decisions of the implementation Committee of the Organization of the African Unity;

3. Mandates the Secretary General to initiate, in co-operation with the acting Chairman and the Secretary General of the OAU, intensive consultations with all interested and concerned parties for the organization of the referendum of self-determination;

4. Requests the Secretary General to report to the General Assembly at its next session, on the progress made in the implementation of the present resolution.

Cup to
Organize

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Non Official Translation.

DRAFT RESOLUTION

The General Assembly,

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Recalling its resolution 39/40 of 5 December 1984 on the question of Western Sahara,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary General on the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling resolution AHG/RES.104(XIX) on Western Sahara, adopted by the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,

1-Reaffirms that the question of Western Sahara is a question of decolonisation which remains to be completed on the basis of the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence,

2-Reaffirms that the solution of the question of Western Sahara lies in the implementation of resolution AHG/RES.104(XIX) of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity, which establishes ways and means for a just and definitive solution to the Western Sahara conflict,

Cable with 5-51 report + Moroccan + Algerian + ...
- Give wide distribution.

VHG - 4.10.84

F.U. 2370/7

1957

3-Requests upon to that end, the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberacion de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations,

X 4-Welcomes the efforts of the Current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity and the Secretary General of the Organisation of the United Nations with a view to achieve ~~to~~ a just and definitive solution to the question of Western Sahara,

5-Invites the Current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity and the Secretary General of the United Nations to work with a view of bringing the two parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Polisario Front to negotiate in accordance with resolution AHG/RES.104(XIX) of the Organisation of African Unity and the present resolution, the conditions of a cease-fire and the modalities of the said referendum,

5-Reaffirms the determination of the United Nations to co-operate fully with the Organisation of African Unity with a view to implementing the relevant decisions of that Organisation, in particular resolution AHG/RES.104(XIX),

6-Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its forty-first session,

X
5 min 11
48 report

F.W 2370/8 194

7-Invites the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the Organisation of African Unity relating to Western Sahara,

8-Invites the Secretary-General to follow the situation in Western Sahara closely with a view to the implementation of the present resolution, and to report to the General Assembly at its forty-first session.

ENDS

PP

F. UN 2370

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U N C L A S S I F I E D

ARTICLE: WESTERN SAHARA - BHP OIL EXPLORATION

FOR FOREIGN AND TRADE

EL MOUDJAHID (SEMI OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN FRENCH LANGUAGE) OF 20 NOVEMBER CARRIED A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE 'AN ODOUR OF OIL' IN WHICH BHP'S OFF SHORE OIL EXPLORATION AGREEMENT WITH MOROCCO OFF THE COAST OF WESTERN SAHARA FEATURES PROMINENTLY.

2. FOLLOWING IS A TRANSLATION OF THE ARTICLE. GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD PLEASE BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF AMBASSADOR O'HANLON DUE IN CANBERRA FOR CONSULTATIONS ON 21 AND 22 NOVEMBER.

QUOTE

WESTERN SAHARA: AN ODOUR OF OIL

TWO OIL COMPANIES HAVE RECENTLY SIGNED CONTRACTS WITH THE MOROCCAN AUTHORITIES FOR OIL EXPLORATION AND RESEARCH IN THE WESTERN SAHARA. THIS IS AN AGGRESSIVE GESTURE AGAINST THE SAHRAOUI PEOPLE WHO HAVE JUST WON A NEW DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS AT THE UNITED NATIONS. DO THOSE TWO COMPANIES IGNORE THAT A WAR HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE FOR MORE THAN TEN YEARS IN THIS TERRITORY WHICH HAS BEEN ARBITRARILY OCCUPIED BY THE MOROCCAN REGIME?

TWO FOREIGN COMPANIES HAVE RECENTLY SIGNED AGREEMENTS WITH THE MOROCCAN AUTHORITIES FOR OIL EXPLORATION IN THE WESTERN SAHARA.

THIS IS A SERIOUS ACT, ESPECIALLY AS IT OCCURRED ONLY TWO MONTHS AFTER THE AFFAIR OF THE SPANISH BOATS WHICH VOILATED THE SAHRAOUI TERRITORIAL WATERS.

BY THIS AGREEMENT THE NORWEGIAN GEOPHYSICAL SOCIETY 'GECO' WAS GIVEN THE TASK OF REVISING 'AVAILABLE TECHNICAL DATA' PRIOR TO UNDERTAKING OFFSHORE OIL EXPLORATION OFF DAKHLA AND BOUJDOUG. IN THIS FIRST PHASE, THE NORWEGIAN COMPANY WILL UNDERTAKE SEISMIC WORKS OVER AN AREA OF APPROXIMATELY 10,000 KM2.

.../2

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THESE TWO ZONES ARE SITUATED NORTH-WEST OF A CONCESSION WHICH HAS RECENTLY BEEN AWARDED TO THE AUSTRALIAN COMPANY BROKEN HILL PROP LTD (BHP). THE PUBLICATION 'PETROL ET ENTREPRISE' NO 28 OF NOV 1985, REPORTED THIS INFORMATION SPECIFYING THAT THE CONCESSION NAMED 'DAKHLA MARITIME', COVERS AN AREA OF 5,000 KM2 OFF THE TOWN OF DAKHLA. ACCORDING TO THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT, THE AUSTRALIAN COMPANY WILL UNDERTAKE TO CARRY OUT SIX DRILLINGS AT THE RATE OF ONE DRILLING EVERY 16 MONTHS FOR A TOTAL VALUE OF 60 MILLION DOLLARS. HERE ARE THE FACTS. THEY ARE IRREFUTABLE. THESE TWO COMPANIES OF AUSTRALIAN AND NORWEGIAN NATIONALITIES: THE FIRST COUNTRY HAS, VERY RECENTLY, VOTED IN FAVOUR OF THE SAHRAOUI CAUSE AT A RECENT U.N. DEBATE AND THE SECOND ONE ABSTAINED FROM VOTING, CANNOT IGNORE THE PROBLEMS WHICH ARE SHAKING THIS REGION OF AFRICA.

FOR ALMOST TEN YEARS NOW A WAR HAS BEEN GOING ON IN THE WESTERN SAHARA, WHERE SAHRAOUI FIGHTERS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING THE MOROCCAN FORCES OF OCCUPATION AND AGGRESSION. DESPITE THE OAU AND UN RESOLUTIONS, AND THE RELEVANT RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HAGUE COURT, THE SAHRAOUI PEOPLE ARE DEPRIVED OF THEIR BASIC RIGHTS. THESE RIGHTS HAVE JUST BEEN SUCCESSFULLY RECOGNISED BY THE UN WHEN IT REJECTED ALL MOROCCAN CLAIMS ON THIS REGION.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED ON THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE SAHRAOUI CAUSE, WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE ESCAPED THESE TWO COMPANIES.

DO THEY MEASURE THE RISK THEY ARE RUNNING IN LETTING THEMSELVES BE TAKEN IN BY THE MOROCCAN ARGUMENTS? DOES THE ODOUR OF OIL RENDER THEM BLIND TO THE POINT OF LETTING FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL INTERESTS PREVAIL OVER THE RIGHTS OF A PEOPLE? UNDOUBTEDLY, THOSE COMPANIES HAVE ALLOWED THEMSELVES TO PLAY THE GAME OF REAFFIRMING THE MOROCCAN GOVERNMENT IN ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF SAHRAOUI TERRITORY.

IN THIS REGARD, THE SAHRAOUI AUTHORITIES HAVE CONSTANTLY WARNED AGAINST ANY CIVILIAN OR MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE SADR'S TERRITORIAL WATERS AND AIR SPACE, WHICH NATURALLY ARE WAR ZONES. IS IT NOT A FACT THAT TWO SPANISH BOATS DID NOT RESPECT POLISARIO WARNINGS NOT TO VIOLATE THE SAHRAOUI TERRITORIAL WATERS WHICH LED TO THE DEATH OF TWO INNOCENT PEOPLE ON 19 AND 20 OF LAST SEPTEMBER?

MOROCCO CONTINUES TO MISLEAD COMPANIES AND EVEN GOVERNMENTS AT THE RISK OF EXPOSING INNOCENT PEOPLES' LIVES, BY PRETENDING THAT THE WESTERN SAHARA IS 'PACIFIED' AND THAT THE POLISARIO ARMED RESISTANCE IS NEUTRALISED.

HOW WRONG CAN PEOPLE BE.

UNQUOTE

.../3

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DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

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3-0.AL8937

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DEP RSCS + ENERGY T/T
DEP TRADE T/T
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
MIN RSCS + ENERGY
DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
JIO

FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN TRADE
DEP FINANCE
DEP TREASURY

MIN DEFENCE
DEP ATTORNEY GENERAL
DEP IND TECH + COMM
ECON PLAN AD COUNCIL

ACTION: PA
SAM

ER
GE

LBCDB
JADG
JAFO
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EDJ

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TSL	LB	FAREP-A	FAREP-M	FAREP-P
FAREP-S	DIR-ADAB			

AMMAN BAGHDAD CAIRO DAMASCUS LAGOS LONDON MOSCOW NAIROBI
RIYADH TEHRAN TEL AVIV WASHINGTON

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FM. ALGIERS /

R E S T R I C T E D

ARTICLE: WESTERN SAHARA - BHP OIL EXPLORATION

RADIO FRANCE INTERNATIONAL RESIDENT CORRESPONDENT IN ALGIERS
PHONED LATE THIS AFTERNOON SEEKING INFORMATION AND FURTHER DETAILS
WITH REGARD TO THE EL MOUDJAHID'S ARTICLE ON BHP/MOROCCO OFF SHORE
OIL EXPLORATION AGREEMENT AS REPORTED IN REF CABLE. CHARGE WAS
UNAVAILABLE WHEN CORRESPONDENT CALLED SO LEFT MESSAGE THAT SHE WOULD
PHONE CHARGE BACK ON SATURDAY 23 NOVEMBER.

2. GRATEFUL ADVICE AND GUIDANCE AS TO HOW YOU WOULD WISH US TO
HANDLE THIS APPROACH.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DEP RSCS + ENERGY T/T
DEP TRADE T/T
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP IND TECH + COMM
JIO

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN RSCS + ENERGY
ECON PLAN AD COUNCIL

ACTION: SAM
ER
GE

JADG
EDJ
EDJ

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	DEPSEC-C	PA
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ISPP	DPR	FAS(IRSAM)	IH	CSA
FAS(ECO)	EO	CCR	OES	FAS(MFS)
FAREP-A	FAREP-M	FAREP-P	FAREP-S	
DIR-ADAB				

AMMAN BAGHDAD CAIRO DAMASCUS LAGOS LONDON RIYADH TEHRAN
TEL AVIV WASHINGTON

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 40 - FOURTH COMMITTEE - ITEM 18 - WESTERN SAHARA:
FRENCH VIEWS

START OF SUMMARY

FRANCE IS UNWAVERING IN ITS TRADITIONAL NEUTRAL STANCE ON THE WEST SAHARA ISSUE. THE QUAI D'ORSAY (PRIVATELY) ACKNOWLEDGES, HOWEVER, THE MODERATE ELEMENTS IN THE MOROCCAN RESOLUTION AND SEES THESE AS MORE LIKELY TO LEAD TO AN EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE. THEY EXPRESS PUZZLEMENT ABOUT AUSTRALIA'S ''PRO-ALGERIAN'' STANCE. *Re too.*

END OF SUMMARY

WE SPOKE BRIEFLY TO BONNAUD, DESK OFFICER IN THE FRENCH MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS, ABOUT THE WEST SAHARA ISSUE IN THE UNITED NATIONS. BONNAUD CONTINUES TO PROFESS TO BE AT A LOSS TO UNDERSTAND WHY AUSTRALIAN INTERESTS DICTATE A LINE WHICH IS SEEN TO BE CLEARLY PRO-ALGERIAN, AND INCIDENTALLY, AT VARIANCE WITH THE STRICTLY NEUTRAL POSITION ADOPTED BY THE VAST MAJORITY OF WEST EUROPEANS (INCLUDING FRANCE).

2. BONNAUD'S VIEW IS THAT THE ONLY WAY THE DISPUTE WILL EVENTUALLY BE RESOLVED WILL BE IF, IN SEVERAL YEARS TIME, MOST PROBABLY THROUGH THE GOOD AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL, BOTH THE MOROCCANS AND THE ALGERIANS COME ROUND TO ACCEPTING THE NECESSITY OF REACHING A GENUINE COMPROMISE. IN BONNAUD'S SCENARIO, THE REFERENDUM THAT WOULD THEN BE HELD WOULD INVOLVE THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SAHARANS AND ''QUASI-SAHARANS'' IN BOTH THE MOROCCAN-CONTROLLED TERRITORY AND THE ''REFUGEE CAMPS'' IN ALGERIA. THESE GROUPS ARE MORE OR LESS EVENLY BALANCED AND THE RESULTS OF THE REFERENDUM (PRESUMABLY INVOLVING A CHOICE BETWEEN COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OR SOME SORT OF ASSOCIATIVE ARRANGEMENT WITH MOROCCANS) WOULD BE NO MEANS BE PREDICTABLE. BONNAUD THOUGHT THAT IN MANY WAYS THE WEST SAHARANS ARE QUITE CONTENT WITH THE PRESENT SITUATION UNDER WHICH THEY ARE RECEIVING BOUNTIFUL ATTENTION FROM BOTH THE MOROCCANS AND ALGERIANS

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(IN TERMS OF SCHOOLS, HEALTH CARE AND SO ON).

3. BONNAUD MAINTAINS THAT DESPITE MOROCCAN ALLEGATIONS TO THE CONTRARY, ALGERIAN SUPPORT FOR THE WEST SAHARAN CAUSE IS NOT BASED ON ANY MACHAVELLIAN DESIRE FOR ACCESS TO THE ATLANTIC OR THE MINERAL WEALTH OF THE REGION. ALGERIAN SUPPORT IS BASED ON ''IDEOLOGICAL SYMPATHIES'' AND POLITICAL PRESSURES BEING EXERTED BY CERTAIN EXTREMIST GROUPS WITHIN ALGERIA. BONNAUD BELIEVES THAT THE ALGERIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD BE QUITE HAPPY TO FREE ITSELF OF THIS ISSUE WHICH HAS BEDEVILLED ITS EXTERNAL RELATIONS FOR MANY YEARS NOW.

4. ACCORDING TO BONNAUD, THE FACT THAT INDIA HAS RECENTLY RECOGNISED POLISARIO SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN UNDUE IMPORTANCE. IT HAS NOT LED, AS SOME EXPECTED, TO ANY FLOOD OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES RECOGNISING POLISARIO. EVEN IF THIS WAS TO OCCUR, IT WOULD NOT AFFECT THE POSITION ON THE GROUND WHERE MOROCCO IS UNQUESTIONABLY IN CONTROL.

5. BONNAUD THOUGHT THAT BOTH THE MOROCCAN AND ALGERIAN RESOLUTIONS SUPPORTED THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION. THE MOROCCAN RESOLUTION HAS THE VIRTUE OF BEING MUCH MORE MODERATE AND, FURTHERMORE, IT MORE REALISTICALLY OPTS FOR UNITED NATIONS RATHER THAN OAU SUPERVISION OF A REFERENDUM.

6. IT IS THE FRENCH VIEW THAT MOROCCAN RELUCTANCE TO ENGAGE IN PUBLIC DEALINGS WITH POLISARIO IS NOT BASED SOLELY ON MOROCCAN PRIDE OR STUBBORNNESS. (BONNAUD MAINTAINS THAT THE MOROCCANS ARE ENGAGED IN FAIRLY FREQUENT SECRET MEETINGS WITH POLISARIO). BONNAUD WAS QUITE CATEGORICAL IN STATING FRANCE'S BELIEF THAT IT WOULD BE CLEARLY CONTRARY TO WELL-ESTABLISHED PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW FOR THE MOROCCANS TO BE SEEN TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE POLISARIO PRIOR TO THE HOLDING OF THE REFERENDUM. THIS WOULD ENTAIL PREJUDGING THE RESULTS OF THE REFERENDUM.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

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ACTION: IH
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SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA	
FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	CN	EX	ISPP
DPR	FAS(IRSAM)	UNP	MEN	FAS(ECO)	
FAS(LC)	IL	TSL	LB	FAREP-A	FAREP-M
FAREP-P	FAREP-S				

AMMAN BAGHDAD BERNE CAIRO COPENHAGEN DAMASCUS DAR ES SALAAM
HARARE HONOLULU LAGOS LONDON LUSAKA MADRID MALTA MOSCOW
NAIROBI PRETORIA RIYADH TEHRAN TEL AVIV WASHINGTON

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TOR 22.09 02.10.85

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TO.
PP CANBERRA/7023

RP.
PP UN NEW YORK/351 NEW DELHI/23 PARIS EMB/1176 *is a 4th Committee issue.*
PP MADRID/174 WASHINGTON/246 HARARE/27
PP ADDIS ABABA/02

FM. ALGIERS /

935/28/2

R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA: RECOGNITION OF SADR BY INDIA

FROM FILE 862/117

START OF SUMMARY

INDIA'S RECOGNITION OF THE SAHRAWI ARAB DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (SADR) REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT DIPLOMATIC ADVANCE FOR THE POLISARIO FRONT. THE MOROCCAN DECISION TO BREAK OFF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH INDIA IS CONSISTENT WITH A SIMILAR MOROCCAN REACTION TO YUGOSLAVIA'S RECOGNITION OF THE SADR IN NOVEMBER 1984.

END OF SUMMARY

DUE TO INDIA'S STATUS INTERNATIONALLY AND WITHIN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, THE ANNOUNCEMENT ON 1 OCTOBER OF INDIA'S FORMAL RECOGNITION OF THE SADR REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT DIPLOMATIC ADVANCE FOR THE POLISARIO FRONT. IT FOLLOWS A LONG PERIOD DURING WHICH INDIA HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE TO ACCORD SUCH RECOGNITION BY BOTH THE POLISARIO AND ITS MAJOR SUPPORTER, ALGERIA. THAT PRESSURE INCREASED IN THE WAKE OF YUGOSLAVIA'S RECOGNITION OF THE SADR IN NOVEMBER LAST YEAR.

2. WE SUSPECT (BUT DUE TO AN INDIAN HOLIDAY TODAY ARE UNABLE TO CONFIRM WITH THEIR EMBASSY) THAT INDIA'S DECISION TO RECOGNIZE THE SADR MAY HAVE BEEN TAKEN SOME TIME AGO - PERHAPS PRIOR TO RAJIV GANDHI'S VISIT TO ALGIERS LAST JUNE - BUT THE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF IT DELAYED UNTIL AFTER INDIA VACATED THE CHAIR OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. IN ANY EVENT, THE MOROCCAN REACTION TO THE ANNOUNCEMENT - THE BREAKING OFF OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH INDIA - IS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH THE COURSE OF ACTION TAKEN IN RESPONSE TO YUGOSLAVIA'S RECOGNITION OF THE SADR LAST YEAR. INDIA THUS BECOMES THE SIXTY-THIRD COUNTRY TO HAVE ACCORDED RECOGNITION TO THE SADR.

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ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IH
SAM

JACD
JADJ

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA	
FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	EUR	CN	AM
FAS(EPPD)	EX	ISPP	DPR	SDA	
FAS(IRSAM)	CMO	MEN	SSA	FAS(ECO)	
ER	FAS(LC)	IL	FAREP-A	FAREP-M	
FAREP-P	FAREP-S	DIR-ADAB			

AMMAN BAGHDAD BANGKOK BEIJING BOMBAY CAIRO COLOMBO DHAKA
DAMASCUS ISLAMABAD LAGOS LONDON MOSCOW RIYADH TEHRAN
TEL AVIV WELLINGTON

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INFO: MR. H. C. HOTT (IRSAH)
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TOR 00.11 24.08.85

O.PA40586 1600 23.8.85 CLA

TO.
PP CANBERRA/1838

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PP UN NEW YORK/1925

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R E S T R I C T E D

UNGA 40 - MR HAYDEN'S PROGRAM

TO FILES 626/9/7/47, 101/2

THE FOLLOWING CONTAINS SENSITIVE INFORMATION

WE HAVE NOTED FROM NEW YORK'S REFTEL THE REQUEST FROM THE MOROCCAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO MEET MR HAYDEN. AS MENTIONED IN OUR EARLIER MESSAGES WE BELIEVE THE MAIN PURPOSE OF THIS REQUEST WOULD BE TO GIVE THE MOROCCANS AN OPPORTUNITY TO PUT THEIR VIEWPOINT ON THE WESTERN SAHARA ISSUE AND PROBABLY ALSO TO MENTION THEIR INTEREST IN ACCREDITING AN AMBASSADOR TO CANBERRA.

2. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ASSUME THAT IN CONSIDERING THIS MATTER YOU WILL ALSO HAVE IN MIND THAT

(A) MOROCCO IS ACTIVE AND INFLUENTIAL IN ARAB AFFAIRS (THE KING BEING CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE ARAB SUMMIT AND HOST OF THE RECENT CASABLANCA CONFERENCE). ACCORDINGLY, THE FOREIGN MINISTER, WHO IS AN EXPERIENCED AND ARTICULATE SPOKESMAN VERY CLOSE TO THE KING, COULD HAVE SOME INTERESTING OBSERVATIONS TO OFFER ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES.

(B) WE HAVE RECEIVED IN AUSTRALIA REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLISARIO AND OF ALGERIA. WILLINGNESS TO MEET THE MOROCCAN FOREIGN MINISTER WOULD SHOW OUR READINESS TO HEAR BOTH SIDES AND ALSO OFFER AN OPPORTUNITY TO RE-EMPHASISE OUR OVER-RIDING INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

(C) REFUSAL TO SEE THE FOREIGN MINISTER, ESPECIALLY IF IT WERE TO BE FOLLOWED IN THE NEAR FUTURE BY THE OPENING IN AUSTRALIA OF A POLISARIO OFFICE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE TAKEN BADLY BY THE MOROCCANS. ACCORDINGLY, IF THE RESPONSE TO THE MOROCCANS IS NOT AFFIRMATIVE, IT WILL NEED CAREFUL PRESENTATION.

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DISTRIBUTION IS LIMITED ONLY TO :

ACTION: DR. S. HARRIS

FOREIGN MINISTER

ACTION: MR. K. BOREHAM (EX)

LBBBAB

DR. S. HARRIS (SEC)
MR. R. J. GREET (DEP-B)
MR. J. R. BURGESS (SEP)
MR. D. SADLEIR (EPPD)
MR. J. WATSON (IH)

MR. M. E. LYON (DEP-A)
MR. I. HUTCHENS (PA)
MR. C. MCDONALD (EANA)
MR. H. C. MOTT (IRSAM)

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O.PA39979 KPMO
TOR 03.21 06.08.85

O.PA39979 1830 5.8.85 CLA

TO.
PP CANBERRA/1272

RP.
PP UN NEW YORK/1906 ALGIERS/969 ADDIS ABABA/010
PP LAGOS/334 MADRID/775

FM. PARIS EMB /

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WESTERN SAHARA: MOROCCAN VIEWS

FROM FILE 226/3/7

START OF SUMMARY

DURING A RECENT VISIT BY THE AMBASSADOR, THE MOROCCANS ARGUED THAT THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE AND THAT CARRIAGE OF THE ISSUE SHOULD BE TAKEN FROM THE OAU AND GIVEN ONCE AGAIN TO THE UN. THEY MAINTAIN THAT SINCE THE AOU HAD ADMITTED THE POLISARIO FRONT AS A FULL MEMBER IT COULD NO LONGER BE A NEUTRAL ARBITER. MOROCCO'S AIM AT THIS YEAR'S UNGA SEEMS TO BE TO HAVE THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT OF HIS RECENT MAGHREB VISIT USED AS THE BASIS FOR A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR A REFERENDUM IN THE WESTERN SAHARA UNDER UN AUSPICES.

END OF SUMMARY

CHERKAQUI, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE MOROCCAN FOREIGN MINISTRY, IN A DISCUSSION WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON 31 JULY, ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE ADMISSION OF THE SADR TO THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) AND THE STRONG LEVEL OF SUPPORT IN THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION AT LAST YEAR'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAD BEEN SEVERE SETBACKS TO MOROCCAN DIPLOMACY, ALL THE MORE GALLING SINCE MOROCCO HAD PROGRESSIVELY GAINED CONTROL ON THE GROUND IN WEST SAHARA. MOROCCO HAS RESPONDED BY APPOINTING ABDELLATIF FILALI, A CLOSE CONFIDANTE OF THE KING, AS NEW FOREIGN MINISTER. FILALI HAS EMBARKED ON A MAJOR SHAKE-UP OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY INCLUDING PLANS FOR THE OPENING OF A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF NEW POSTS AROUND THE WORLD (IN ASIA, POSSIBLY INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA).

2. CHERKAQUI CLAIMED THAT THERE HAD BEEN A NUMBER OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN RELATION TO THE WEST SAHARA DISPUTE. THESE DEVELOPMENTS CONSTITUTED A NEW BASIS FOR THE RESOLUTION OF THE

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~~OK~~. Looks as if this cd
be a difficult issue
this yr. I wonder if we
can somehow move to a
neutral posⁿ if things
change? I think the
Moroccans however may
be unduly optimistic, as
usual. CM 7/8

(F)

IN

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DISPUTE BY THE UNITED NATIONS RATHER THAN THE OAU AND SHOULD INVOLVE A RECONSIDERATION OF THE POSITION TAKEN BY COUNTRIES WHICH LAST YEAR SUPPORTED THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION:

A. AN IMPORTANT NEW DEVELOPMENT WAS THAT MOROCCO, AFTER LAST YEAR'S ADMISSION OF RASD, WAS NO LONGER A MEMBER OF THE OAU. FURTHERMORE, BY ADMITTING RASD AS A FULL MEMBER, THE OAU HAD, IN EFFECT, PREJUDGED THE RESULTS OF ANY SELF-DETERMINATION EXERCISE IN THE WESTERN SAHARA.

B. SECONDLY, IT NEEDED TO BE REALISED THAT AT THIS YEAR'S OAU MEETING IN ADIS ABABA THERE HAD BEEN NO/NO DISCUSSION OF WESTERN SAHARA AND HENCE THERE WOULD BE NO REPORT BY THE OAU ON THIS ISSUE SENT TO THE UN.

C. THIRDLY, THE NEW PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE OAU WERE, ACCORDING TO THE MOROCCANS, LIKELY TO BE MUCH MORE EVEN-HANDED ON THIS ISSUE THAN WERE THEIR IMMEDIATE PREDECESSORS. CHERKAQUI MAINTAINED THAT THE PREVIOUS OAU SECRETARY-GENERAL HAD TAKEN THE VIEW THAT WITH THE ADMISSION OF RASD TO THE OAU THE WEST SAHARAN PROBLEM NO LONGER EXISTED. CHERKAQUI BELIEVED THAT THERE WAS JUST AS GREAT A NEED AS EVER TO BRING PEACE AND STABILITY TO THE REGION AND THAT, WITH THE EXTENSION OF MOROCCO'S SYSTEM OF DEFENSIVE WALLS IN THE WESTERN SAHARA, MOROCCAN AND ALGERIAN TROOPS WERE NOW VIRTUALLY FACE TO FACE AND THE THREAT OF A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE TWO MAJOR POWERS IN NORTH AFRICA EXISTED.

D. FOURTHLY, THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL HAD RECENTLY VISITED MOROCCO AND THE REGION AND, WHILST HE HAD BY NO MEANS COMMITTED HIMSELF, HE WAS ALLEGED BY THE MOROCCANS TO HAVE DISPLAYED A CERTAIN RECEPTIVITY TO THE IDEA THAT THE UN TAKE OVER THE OAU'S ROLE AS AN ARBITER IN THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WOULD BE SUBMITTING A REPORT TO THE UN LATER IN THE YEAR ON THE RESULTS OF HIS VISIT AND WOULD BE KEEPING IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION ON THE EXACT TERMS OF THIS REPORT.

3. THE MOROCCANS CLEARLY SEE IN THESE NEW DEVELOPMENTS SUFFICIENT JUSTIFICATION FOR THE UN TO TAKE THE MANAGEMENT OF THE DISPUTE OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE OAU AND WOULD LIKE TO SEE A RECOMMENDATION TO THIS EFFECT EMERGING OUT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT LATER ON THIS YEAR. THE MOROCCANS ARGUE THAT BEFORE THE ISSUE PASSED TO THE OAU IN 1976 THERE HAD BEEN A LONG HISTORY OF UN INVOLVEMENT WITH THE WESTERN SAHARA DATING BACK TO THE DECOLONISATION COMMITTEE IN 1963.

4. EVEN IF A RESOLUTION DOES NOT EMERGE FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT (AND IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE ALGERIA AND ITS ALLIES SUPPORTING THIS MOVE) MOROCCO WILL BE DEVOTING CONSIDERABLE ENERGIES AND RESOURCES TO TAKING THE MOMENTUM OUT OF THE ALGERIAN DIPLOMATIC SUCCESSES OF LAST YEAR. THE AMERICAN CHARGE CONSIDERED THAT IF THE

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ALGERIAN RESOLUTION WENT FORWARD AT UNGA AGAIN THIS YEAR THE MOROCCANS WILL BE AIMING TO REDUCE THE NUMBERS WHO VOTED FOR THIS RESOLUTION BY TEN OR MORE. THE MOROCCANS SEEM TO BE CONCERNED THAT ALGERIA WILL NOW PRESS FOR SADR MEMBERSHIP OF THE OAU AND THEN POSSIBLY OF THE UN. THE RECENT ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ANGOLA (WHICH RECOGNISES THE SADR) NEEDS TO BE SEEN IN THIS LIGHT SINCE AN EXECUTIVE MEETING OF THE NAM WILL BE HELD IN LUANDA IN SEPTEMBER OF THIS YEAR. THE MOROCCANS ALSO SEE THE VENUE OF THE NEXT NAM AS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE AND INDICATED TO US THAT, AS IT IS AFRICA'S TURN, THEY ARE CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITY OF SUGGESTING MOROCCO AS THE VENUE. IT IS NO DOUBT ALSO THE HOPE OF THE MOROCCANS THAT THE CONVENING OF AN EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF THE ARAB SUMMIT IN CASABLANCA ON 7-8 AUGUST WILL HAVE POSITIVE SPINOFFS FOR THE MOROCCAN POLICY ON WEST SAHARA.

5. WITH AN EYE TO WIDER SUPPORT FOR THEIR POSITION, THE MOROCCANS ARE STRESSING THEIR FULL SUPPORT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION IN WEST SAHARA UNDER UN AUSPICES, WITH THE POSSIBLE INVOLVEMENT OF A UN FORCE. THE MOROCCANS SAY THAT THEY HAVE NO OBJECTION TO OAU INVOLVEMENT AND HAVE NO PROBLEMS WITH THE VARIOUS PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE HOLDING OF A REFERENDUM ALREADY RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMITTEE OF SEVEN HEADS OF STATE SET UP BY THE OAU. THE MOROCCANS DO NOT/NOT HOWEVER ACCEPT THAT THEY SHOULD DIRECTLY NEGOTIATE WITH THE POLISARIO FRONT ON A CEASEFIRE. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TOLD US THAT THE MOROCCAN POSITION WAS THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO 'ARRANGE' A CEASEFIRE SINCE MOROCCAN TROOPS ONLY RETURNED FIRE AND ALL THAT WAS REQUIRED WAS FOR THE POLISARIO FRONT TO STOP SHOOTING. ANOTHER DIFFICULT ISSUE TO BE RESOLVED, AGAIN AS POINTED OUT BY THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR, IS EXACTLY WHO WOULD BE ALLOWED TO VOTE IN ANY REFERENDUM. THE MOROCCANS CLAIM THE 80 PERCENT OR MORE OF THE WEST SAHARAN REFUGEES IN ALGERIA ARE NOT GENUINE WEST SAHARANS, AND THE ALGERIANS MAKE SIMILAR CLAIMS ABOUT THE CITIZENS OF MOROCCAN-DOMINATED WESTERN SAHARA.

6. FROM COMMENTS MADE TO US IN RABAT, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT PROVIDED MOROCCO CAN SLOW DOWN THE GROWTH OF INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT FOR THE POLISARIO FRONT AND MAINTAIN MILITARY AND OTHER SUPPORT OF THE AMERICANS, FRENCH AND SAUDIS, THERE IS NO GREAT IMPERATIVE FOR THEM TO ARRIVE AT AN ACCOMMODATION WITH THE POLISARIO FRONT. WITH ALMOST COMPLETE PHYSICAL CONTROL OF ALL THE INHABITED ZONES OF THE WESTERN SAHARA, AND WITH AN EXTENSIVE SOCIAL PROGRAMME IN WESTERN SAHARA INVOLVING THE BUILDING OF SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS AND SO ON, TIME IS VERY MUCH ON THE MOROCCAN SIDE. ALL OBSERVERS WE SPOKE TO SEEMED CONFIDENT THAT MOROCCO WOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING A POSITIVE RESULT IN ANY REFERENDUM. THE MOROCCANS MAINTAIN THAT DESPITE THE SUCCESSFUL 'COUP' STAGED BY THE ALGERIANS AT LAST YEAR'S OAU (WHICH THEY MAINTAINED VIOLATED THE OAU CHARTER), THE SYMPATHY OF MOROCCO'S NEIGHBOURS AND OF THE MAJOR WESTERN POWERS WAS

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WITH MOROCCO. THE MOROCCANS CLAIM THAT RASD WAS ADMITTED TO THE OAU PRIMARILY BECAUSE BLACK AFRICAN MEMBERS WANTED AN END TO A SITUATION WHERE AN ARAB ISSUE DOMINATED THE ORGANISATION AND EVEN JEOPARDISED ITS FUTURE.

7. AT NO OCCASION DID THE AMBASSADOR'S MOROCCAN INTERLOCUTORS SPECIFICALLY REQUEST AUSTRALIA TO CHANGE ITS VOTE ON THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION THOUGH THIS WAS CLEARLY VERY MUCH IN THEIR MINDS. WHILST THE MOROCCANS SHOW CONTINUED RESTRAINT AND UNDERSTANDING IN RELATION TO THE POSITION TAKEN ON THIS ISSUE BY A NUMBER OF THEIR AFRICAN NEIGHBOURS, THEY ARE STILL VERY BITTER ABOUT FOR EXAMPLE YUGOSLAVIA'S RECOGNITION OF SADR WHICH LED TO THE SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. OUR VARIOUS SOUNDINGS ALSO LEFT US IN NO DOUBT ABOUT THE PROBABILITY OF A VERY SHARP MOROCCAN REACTION IF A POLISARIO INFORMATION OFFICE WERE SET UP IN AUSTRALIA.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IH
SAM

JADG
JADJ
JADA
JCAA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA	
FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	EUR	CN	EX
ISPP	DPR	FAS(IRSAM)	MEN	FAS(ECO)	
ER	FAS(LC)	IL	FAS(MFS)	SAS	
FAREP-A	FAREP-M	FAREP-P	FAREP-S		

AMMAN BAGHDAD BEIJING CAIRO COPENHAGEN DAMASCUS DAR ES SALAAM
HARARE LONDON LUSAKA MALTA MOSCOW NAIROBI PRETORIA RIYADH
TEHRAN TEL AVIV WASHINGTON

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ACTION: IH
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TOR 03.21 06.08.85

O.PA39979 1830 5.8.85 CLA

TO.
PP CANBERRA/1272

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PP UN NEW YORK/1906 ALGIERS/969 ADDIS ABABA/010
PP LAGOS/334 MADRID/775

FM. PARIS EMB /

C O N F I D E N T I A L

WESTERN SAHARA: MOROCCAN VIEWS

FROM FILE 226/3/7

START OF SUMMARY

DURING A RECENT VISIT BY THE AMBASSADOR, THE MOROCCANS ARGUED THAT THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE AND THAT CARRIAGE OF THE ISSUE SHOULD BE TAKEN FROM THE OAU AND GIVEN ONCE AGAIN TO THE UN. THEY MAINTAIN THAT SINCE THE AOU HAD ADMITTED THE POLISARIO FRONT AS A FULL MEMBER IT COULD NO LONGER BE A NEUTRAL ARBITER. MOROCCO'S AIM AT THIS YEAR'S UNGA SEEMS TO BE TO HAVE THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT OF HIS RECENT MAGHREB VISIT USED AS THE BASIS FOR A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR A REFERENDUM IN THE WESTERN SAHARA UNDER UN AUSPICES.

END OF SUMMARY

CHERKAQUI, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE MOROCCAN FOREIGN MINISTRY, IN A DISCUSSION WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON 31 JULY, ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE ADMISSION OF THE SADR TO THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) AND THE STRONG LEVEL OF SUPPORT IN THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION AT LAST YEAR'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAD BEEN SEVERE SETBACKS TO MOROCCAN DIPLOMACY, ALL THE MORE GALLING SINCE MOROCCO HAD PROGRESSIVELY GAINED CONTROL ON THE GROUND IN WEST SAHARA. MOROCCO HAS RESPONDED BY APPOINTING ABDELLATIF FILALI, A CLOSE CONFIDANTE OF THE KING, AS NEW FOREIGN MINISTER. FILALI HAS EMBARKED ON A MAJOR SHAKE-UP OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY INCLUDING PLANS FOR THE OPENING OF A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF NEW POSTS AROUND THE WORLD (IN ASIA, POSSIBLY INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA).

2. CHERKAQUI CLAIMED THAT THERE HAD BEEN A NUMBER OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN RELATION TO THE WEST SAHARA DISPUTE. THESE DEVELOPMENTS CONSTITUTED A NEW BASIS FOR THE RESOLUTION OF THE

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DISPUTE BY THE UNITED NATIONS RATHER THAN THE OAU AND SHOULD INVOLVE A RECONSIDERATION OF THE POSITION TAKEN BY COUNTRIES WHICH LAST YEAR SUPPORTED THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION:

A. AN IMPORTANT NEW DEVELOPMENT WAS THAT MOROCCO, AFTER LAST YEAR'S ADMISSION OF RASD, WAS NO LONGER A MEMBER OF THE OAU. FURTHERMORE, BY ADMITTING RASD AS A FULL MEMBER, THE OAU HAD, IN EFFECT, PREJUDGED THE RESULTS OF ANY SELF-DETERMINATION EXERCISE IN THE WESTERN SAHARA.

B. SECONDLY, IT NEEDED TO BE REALISED THAT AT THIS YEAR'S OAU MEETING IN ADIS ABABA THERE HAD BEEN NO/NO DISCUSSION OF WESTERN SAHARA AND HENCE THERE WOULD BE NO REPORT BY THE OAU ON THIS ISSUE SENT TO THE UN.

C. THIRDLY, THE NEW PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE OAU WERE, ACCORDING TO THE MOROCCANS, LIKELY TO BE MUCH MORE EVEN-HANDED ON THIS ISSUE THAN WERE THEIR IMMEDIATE PREDECESSORS. CHERKAQUI MAINTAINED THAT THE PREVIOUS OAU SECRETARY-GENERAL HAD TAKEN THE VIEW THAT WITH THE ADMISSION OF RASD TO THE OAU THE WEST SAHARAN PROBLEM NO LONGER EXISTED. CHERKAQUI BELIEVED THAT THERE WAS JUST AS GREAT A NEED AS EVER TO BRING PEACE AND STABILITY TO THE REGION AND THAT, WITH THE EXTENSION OF MOROCCO'S SYSTEM OF DEFENSIVE WALLS IN THE WESTERN SAHARA, MOROCCAN AND ALGERIAN TROOPS WERE NOW VIRTUALLY FACE TO FACE AND THE THREAT OF A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE TWO MAJOR POWERS IN NORTH AFRICA EXISTED.

D. FOURTHLY, THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL HAD RECENTLY VISITED MOROCCO AND THE REGION AND, WHILST HE HAD BY NO MEANS COMMITTED HIMSELF, HE WAS ALLEGED BY THE MOROCCANS TO HAVE DISPLAYED A CERTAIN RECEPTIVITY TO THE IDEA THAT THE UN TAKE OVER THE OAU'S ROLE AS AN ARBITER IN THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WOULD BE SUBMITTING A REPORT TO THE UN LATER IN THE YEAR ON THE RESULTS OF HIS VISIT AND WOULD BE KEEPING IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION ON THE EXACT TERMS OF THIS REPORT.

3. THE MOROCCANS CLEARLY SEE IN THESE NEW DEVELOPMENTS SUFFICIENT JUSTIFICATION FOR THE UN TO TAKE THE MANAGEMENT OF THE DISPUTE OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE OAU AND WOULD LIKE TO SEE A RECOMMENDATION TO THIS EFFECT EMERGING OUT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT LATER ON THIS YEAR. THE MOROCCANS ARGUE THAT BEFORE THE ISSUE PASSED TO THE OAU IN 1976 THERE HAD BEEN A LONG HISTORY OF UN INVOLVEMENT WITH THE WESTERN SAHARA DATING BACK TO THE DECOLONISATION COMMITTEE IN 1963.

4. EVEN IF A RESOLUTION DOES NOT EMERGE FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT (AND IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE ALGERIA AND ITS ALLIES SUPPORTING THIS MOVE) MOROCCO WILL BE DEVOTING CONSIDERABLE ENERGIES AND RESOURCES TO TAKING THE MOMENTUM OUT OF THE ALGERIAN DIPLOMATIC SUCCESSES OF LAST YEAR. THE AMERICAN CHARGE CONSIDERED THAT IF THE

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ALGERIAN RESOLUTION WENT FORWARD AT UNGA AGAIN THIS YEAR THE MOROCCANS WILL BE AIMING TO REDUCE THE NUMBERS WHO VOTED FOR THIS RESOLUTION BY TEN OR MORE. THE MOROCCANS SEEM TO BE CONCERNED THAT ALGERIA WILL NOW PRESS FOR SADR MEMBERSHIP OF THE OAU AND THEN POSSIBLY OF THE UN. THE RECENT ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ANGOLA (WHICH RECOGNISES THE SADR) NEEDS TO BE SEEN IN THIS LIGHT SINCE AN EXECUTIVE MEETING OF THE NAM WILL BE HELD IN LUANDA IN SEPTEMBER OF THIS YEAR. THE MOROCCANS ALSO SEE THE VENUE OF THE NEXT NAM AS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE AND INDICATED TO US THAT, AS IT IS AFRICA'S TURN, THEY ARE CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITY OF SUGGESTING MOROCCO AS THE VENUE. IT IS NO DOUBT ALSO THE HOPE OF THE MOROCCANS THAT THE CONVENING OF AN EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF THE ARAB SUMMIT IN CASABLANCA ON 7-8 AUGUST WILL HAVE POSITIVE SPINOFFS FOR THE MOROCCAN POLICY ON WEST SAHARA.

5. WITH AN EYE TO WIDER SUPPORT FOR THEIR POSITION, THE MOROCCANS ARE STRESSING THEIR FULL SUPPORT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION IN WEST SAHARA UNDER UN AUSPICES, WITH THE POSSIBLE INVOLVEMENT OF A UN FORCE. THE MOROCCANS SAY THAT THEY HAVE NO OBJECTION TO OAU INVOLVEMENT AND HAVE NO PROBLEMS WITH THE VARIOUS PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE HOLDING OF A REFERENDUM ALREADY RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMITTEE OF SEVEN HEADS OF STATE SET UP BY THE OAU. THE MOROCCANS DO NOT/NOT HOWEVER ACCEPT THAT THEY SHOULD DIRECTLY NEGOTIATE WITH THE POLISARIO FRONT ON A CEASEFIRE. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TOLD US THAT THE MOROCCAN POSITION WAS THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO 'ARRANGE' A CEASEFIRE SINCE MOROCCAN TROOPS ONLY RETURNED FIRE AND ALL THAT WAS REQUIRED WAS FOR THE POLISARIO FRONT TO STOP SHOOTING. ANOTHER DIFFICULT ISSUE TO BE RESOLVED, AGAIN AS POINTED OUT BY THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR, IS EXACTLY WHO WOULD BE ALLOWED TO VOTE IN ANY REFERENDUM. THE MOROCCANS CLAIM THE 80 PERCENT OR MORE OF THE WEST SAHARAN REFUGEES IN ALGERIA ARE NOT GENUINE WEST SAHARANS, AND THE ALGERIANS MAKE SIMILAR CLAIMS ABOUT THE CITIZENS OF MOROCCAN-DOMINATED WESTERN SAHARA.

6. FROM COMMENTS MADE TO US IN RABAT, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT PROVIDED MOROCCO CAN SLOW DOWN THE GROWTH OF INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT FOR THE POLISARIO FRONT AND MAINTAIN MILITARY AND OTHER SUPPORT OF THE AMERICANS, FRENCH AND SAUDIS, THERE IS NO GREAT IMPERATIVE FOR THEM TO ARRIVE AT AN ACCOMMODATION WITH THE POLISARIO FRONT. WITH ALMOST COMPLETE PHYSICAL CONTROL OF ALL THE INHABITED ZONES OF THE WESTERN SAHARA, AND WITH AN EXTENSIVE SOCIAL PROGRAMME IN WESTERN SAHARA INVOLVING THE BUILDING OF SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS AND SO ON, TIME IS VERY MUCH ON THE MOROCCAN SIDE. ALL OBSERVERS WE SPOKE TO SEEMED CONFIDENT THAT MOROCCO WOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING A POSITIVE RESULT IN ANY REFERENDUM. THE MOROCCANS MAINTAIN THAT DESPITE THE SUCCESSFUL 'COUP' STAGED BY THE ALGERIANS AT LAST YEAR'S OAU (WHICH THEY MAINTAINED VIOLATED THE OAU CHARTER), THE SYMPATHY OF MOROCCO'S NEIGHBOURS AND OF THE MAJOR WESTERN POWERS WAS

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WITH MOROCCO. THE MOROCCANS CLAIM THAT RASD WAS ADMITTED TO THE OAU PRIMARILY BECAUSE BLACK AFRICAN MEMBERS WANTED AN END TO A SITUATION WHERE AN ARAB ISSUE DOMINATED THE ORGANISATION AND EVEN JEOPARDISED ITS FUTURE.

7. AT NO OCCASION DID THE AMBASSADOR'S MOROCCAN INTERLOCUTORS SPECIFICALLY REQUEST AUSTRALIA TO CHANGE ITS VOTE ON THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION THOUGH THIS WAS CLEARLY VERY MUCH IN THEIR MINDS. WHILST THE MOROCCANS SHOW CONTINUED RESTRAINT AND UNDERSTANDING IN RELATION TO THE POSITION TAKEN ON THIS ISSUE BY A NUMBER OF THEIR AFRICAN NEIGHBOURS, THEY ARE STILL VERY BITTER ABOUT FOR EXAMPLE YUGOSLAVIA'S RECOGNITION OF SADR WHICH LED TO THE SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. OUR VARIOUS SOUNDINGS ALSO LEFT US IN NO DOUBT ABOUT THE PROBABILITY OF A VERY SHARP MOROCCAN REACTION IF A POLISARIO INFORMATION OFFICE WERE SET UP IN AUSTRALIA.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
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MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IH
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AMMAN BAGHDAD BEIJING CAIRO COPENHAGEN DAMASCUS DAR ES SALAAM
HARARE LONDON LUSAKA MALTA MOSCOW NAIROBI PRETORIA RIYADH
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DATE.25 February 1985

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SUBJECT. UNGA 39: FOURTH COMMITTEE: ITEM 18: QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARABACKGROUND

The long running dispute between Morocco and the Polisario Front over the Western Sahara has been one of the most intractable problems on the delconisation agenda in recent years.

Spain's unilateral withdrawal from Spanish Sahara left the territory subject to the competing claims of Mauritania, Morocco and the newly formed Polisario Front. Morocco annexed the territory after King Hassan's famous green march and this set the scene for a protracted dispute between Morocco and the Algerian backed Polisario Front. Mauritania subsequently renounced its claims to Western Sahara in favour of the Polisario Front and its Saharaoui Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) proclaimed in 1976.

Western Sahara has been the subject of OAU mediation attempts for many years and the issue nearly destroyed the organisation following its 1980 decision to seat SADR as its 51st member. Morocco and its supporters were then able to deny the 1982 Tripoli summit a quorum over the issue.

In recent years Morocco has consolidated its military control of the territory while at the same time losing ground in its diplomatic struggle against SADR.

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5. In 1981, after Morocco had agreed to a ceasefire and a referendum in the territory, the OAU established an Implementation Committee (comprising Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Tanzania) to oversee the implementation of the ceasefire and the act of self determination. The Implementation Committee met in August 1981 and adopted a decision whereby:

- . a referendum pertaining to self determination would be held in Western Sahara;
- . the people of the territory would be given a choice between independence or integration with Morocco;
- . the referendum would be organised and conducted by the Implementation Committee in collaboration with the United Nations;
- . the parties in conflict were urged to agree on a ceasefire through negotiations and to confine their troops to bases;
- . all the parties as well as neighbouring countries undertook to respect the results of the referendum.

6. The Implementation Committee has made very little headway beyond the drafting of documents on the administrative arrangements for a ceasefire and referendum in February 1982.

7. In 1983 the OAU Summit in Addis Ababa adopted resolution AHG/RES104(XIX) which, inter alia, called for direct negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario Front "as the parties to the conflict" on a ceasefire prior to the conduct of a referendum. Morocco, arguing that it had reserved its position at the Nairobi summit on this element, subsequently refused to enter into direct negotiations with the Polisario Front.

8. The General Assembly has traditionally followed the lead of the OAU over Western Sahara. At UNGA 38, after a series of lengthy negotiations, the General Assembly adopted, by consensus, resolution 38/40 which incorporated, in its entirety, the text of RES104 and requested the Secretary-General to work closely with the OAU in the organisation of the referendum.

9. Throughout 1984 Morocco's refusal to abide by the terms of resolution 104 led to the defection of many of its supporters who felt that Morocco had reneged on its undertakings. Having stood aside from participation in the Nairobi Summit to enable it to proceed SADR determined to take its seat at the 1984 Summit held in Addis Ababa in

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November 1984. Morocco was no longer able to deny the meeting a quorum and SADR was seated thus precipitating Morocco to leave the OAU.

UNGA 39

10. There was little discussion of Western Sahara during the Committee of 24's session in 1984 and, as is usually the case, the Committee of 24 did not adopt a resolution on the subject.

11. The Fourth Committee had before it the Secretary General's report (A/39/634) called for in resolution 38/40. It was, understandably, a flimsy document in which the Secretary-General advised that he had reaffirmed to the OAU Secretariat his willingness to assist in the implementation of the decisions of the Summit meeting and the Implementation Committee. In response he had been advised that the Implementation Committee had not met since its failure in September 1983 to have the parties negotiate directly on a ceasefire.

12. The Fourth Committee decided to defer consideration of Western Sahara until after the OAU Summit and the question was taken up in late November.

13. Because of its walkout from the OAU, Morocco's position in the Fourth Committee was even more isolated than in previous years. The debate was largely dominated by African countries of which only Equatorial Guinea spoke in favour of Morocco. Some, such as Zambia, spoke of the need for a referendum without committing themselves to either the Moroccan or Polisario positions but, by and large, African interventions were in favour of the Algerian/Polisario point of view. Nigeria stated that the problem was an entirely African question and an intra African conflict and noted that the OAU had been active in the search for a solution. It supported the decision to seat SADR and called upon Morocco to enter into negotiations.

14. As in previous years Morocco brought a large number of petitioners (this year there were 11 statements by pro Moroccan petitioners): there was one statement by a Polisario representative and one from an organisation of Friends of SADR.

15. Both Morocco and Algeria addressed the Committee at length in familiar terms.

16. On 23 November 1984 Algeria and a wide range of cosponsors tabled resolution L.13 which, inter alia, reaffirmed that the solution to the problem of Western Sahara lay with the implementation of resolution 104 and

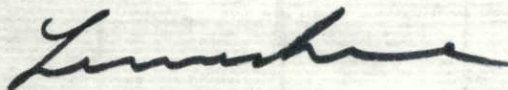
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requested Morocco and the Polisario Front "as the parties to the conflict" to undertake direct negotiations to bring about a ceasefire and the conduct of a referendum. This was opposed by Morocco which subsequently tabled a draft resolution, L.14, which included condemnation of the OAU decision to seat SADR and an assertion that this action deprived the OAU of any role to play in finding a solution. It also contained directives to the Secretary-General to initiate action to organise a referendum independently of the OAU. After this draft had received a predictably negative response Morocco submitted a revised version (L.14/REV1) which deleted the criticisms of the OAU but retained the call for a United Nations settlement to be put in place independently of the OAU. This was the subject of amendments from Algeria's supporters aimed at including references to the OAU and to resolution 104.

17. In the face of the general opposition its draft had provoked, Morocco decided to withdraw its resolution and the Algerian resolution was adopted by a vote of 90 (Australia, Austria, New Zealand, Sweden) - 1 (Equatorial Guinea) - 45 (most WEOGs). Morocco did not participate in the voting.

18. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on 5 December 1984 by a vote of 90 (Australia, New Zealand, Austria, Sweden) - 0 - 42. Morocco once again did not participate in the voting.



(Leslie Rowe)
For the Delegation

Documentation:

Resolution 39/40; Question of Western Sahara.

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General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/RES/39/40
1 February 1985

Thirty-ninth session
Agenda item 18

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[on the report of the Fourth Committee (A/39/696) (Part II)]

39/40. Question of Western Sahara

The General Assembly,

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling its resolution 38/40 of 7 December 1983 on the question of Western Sahara,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

Taking note of the report of the Implementation Committee of the Organization of African Unity on Western Sahara, 2/

1/ A/39/23 (Part VI), chap. X.

2/ A/39/680, annex.

Recalling resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara, 3/ adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,

1. Reaffirms that the question of Western Sahara is a question of decolonization which remains to be completed on the basis of the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence;
2. Reaffirms that the solution of the question of Western Sahara lies in the implementation of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which establishes ways and means for a just and definitive political solution to the Western Sahara conflict;
3. Requests, to that end, the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations;
4. Welcomes the efforts of the Organization of African Unity and its Implementation Committee with a view to promoting a just and definitive solution to the question of Western Sahara in accordance with the resolutions and decisions of that organization and the United Nations on the question;
5. Reaffirms the determination of the United Nations to co-operate fully with the Organization of African Unity with a view to implementing the relevant decisions of that organization, in particular resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX);
6. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its fortieth session;
7. Invites the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity relating to Western Sahara;
8. Invites the Secretary-General to follow the situation in Western Sahara closely with a view to the implementation of the present resolution and to report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session.

87th plenary meeting
5 December 1984

3/ For the text, see General Assembly resolution 38/40, para. 1.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

VISIT TO MOROCCO

TO FILE 226/5/1 FROM FILE 182/10/1

REFERENCE VERNER'S LETTER TO MILLER ON HIS VISIT TO MOROCCO, WE AGREE THAT THE ISSUES OF WESTERN SAHARA, THE WITHDRAWAL OF MOROCCO FROM THE OAU AND THE MOROCCO-LIBYA TREATY SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN RABAT.

2. IN RESPECT OF THE MOROCCO-LIBYA TREATY WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN THE VALUE MOROCCO SEES IN SUCH A RELATIONSHIP AND WHETHER THERE ARE FEELINGS IN RABAT THAT LIBYA HAS NOT SUPPORTED MOROCCO IN THE OAU TO THE EXTENT IT WOULD HAVE EXPECTED.

3. AUSTRALIA'S VOTE IN FAVOUR OF THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA MAY MAKE DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT CONSIDERING ONLY FIVE WEOGS SUPPORTED THE RESOLUTION (O.UN32508, O.CH243415, O.UN32456 AND O.CH243851 REFER). YOU SHOULD DRAW ON POINTS IN REFTELS, NOTING AUSTRALIA'S CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION, THE FAILURE OF MOROCCO TO FULFILL ITS PROMISE OF HOLDING AN ELECTION IN THE TERRITORY, AND OUR DESIRE TO SEE A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT. YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT WHILE AUSTRALIA REGARDS POLISARIO AS REPRESENTATIVE OF AN IMPORTANT BODY OF OPINION IN THE TERRITORY WE DO NOT/NOT REGARD IT AS THE SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WESTERN SAHARAN PEOPLE.

4. FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION, WHEN THE POLISARIO SPECIAL ENVOY TO ASIA AND OCEANIA, MR SADIK MALAININE CALLED ON THE DEPARTMENT ON 14 NOVEMBER HE REQUESTED THAT AUSTRALIA ESTABLISH AN INFORMATION OFFICE IN AUSTRALIA. WE ARE PRESENTLY PREPARING A SUBMISSION FOR THE MINISTER ON THE QUESTION OF THE POSSIBLE ESTABLISHMENT OF POLISARIO

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OFFICE IN AUSTRALIA.

5. WE CONFIRM THAT MOROCCO IS NOT ACCREDITED TO AUSTRALIA AND IT APPEARS THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO SUBSTANTIAL MOVE IN RECENT YEARS BY MOROCCO TO SEEK ACCREDITATION.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER

FOREIGN MINISTER

DEP P M AND CABINET

ACTION: IH
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OGBAAFA
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Subject Heading or Summary of Text:

UNGA 39: FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 16 : WESTERN SAHARA

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE MOROCCAN DRAFT RESOLUTION
A/C4/39/L14 ON WESTERN SAHARA.

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UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



PROVISIONAL

A/C.4/39/L.14
23 November 1984
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Morocco: draft resolution

Question of Western Sahara

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

Noting that Morocco maintains that, by giving a seat to a new member that does not have the status of an independent and sovereign State, the Organization of African Unity has flouted not only its own Charter but also the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination, and that, as a result, it has decided to withdraw immediately from the Organization, and that this withdrawal must be placed on record,

Considering that this situation is liable to deprive of any chances of success the process of solving the problem of Western Sahara previously envisaged at a time when Morocco was a member of the Organization of African Unity, and that, furthermore, that is indeed the view expressed on 23 November 1984 by the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity to the effect that "the problem of the Sahara no longer falls within the competence of the Organization of African Unity",

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Considering that, in these circumstances, it rests with the United Nations to seek a settlement process appropriate to the situation,

Recalling, however, that, according to the statements solemnly made on several occasions by Morocco, before both the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations General Assembly, Morocco gave an undertaking to accept a cease-fire and to abide unpreservedly by the results of a peaceful and just referendum under United Nations auspices, and that these achievements should be preserved and should serve as a basis for new progress towards a definitive solution of the problem of Western Sahara, --

1. Instructs the Secretary-General of the United Nations:
 - (a) To pursue consideration of the question;
 - (b) To lend his good offices to the speedy attainment of a cease-fire;
 - (c) After the effective establishment of a cease-fire, to propose any measures that might facilitate the organization of a referendum under United Nations auspices;
2. Invites the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session on the question of Western Sahara.

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U N C L A S S I F I E D

UNGA 39 : FOURTH COMMITTEE ITEM 18 WESTERN SAHARA

FOLLOWING A STATEMENT IN THE GENERAL DEBATE MOROCCO WITHDREW ITS RESOLUTION L.14 (REV.1) . ACCORDINGLY THE ALGERIAN AMENDMENTS ALSO LAPSED.

2. THE COMMITTEE THEN ADOPTED THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION L.13 BY A VOTE OF 90 (AUSTRALIA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, FINLAND, SWEDEN) - 1 (EQUATORIAL GUINEA) - 45 (MOST WEOGS, GABON, IVORY COAST, ZAIRE, COMOROS, SUDAN). LIBYA, LIBERIA AND MOROCCO DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE WORKING.

3. WITH THE ADOPTION OF L.13 THE FOURTH COMMITTEE CONCLUDED ITS SESSION FOR 1984.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IH

OGBAAFA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA	
FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	CN	EX	DPR
ISPP	FAS(IRSAM)	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LC)		MLT
IL	GLI	FAREP-A	FAREP-M	FAREP-P	
FAREP-S					

HONOLULU

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

935/28/2¹⁶¹

CONFIDENTIAL
FIRST

ACTION: IH
COPY NO. 1

OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

O.CH244110 MJWO

OUT

O.CH244110 1800 28.11.84 CLA FIRST

TO.

PP UN NEW YORK /8629

RP.

RR PARIS EMB /5824 ALGIERS /327 NAIROBI /8760

RR TEHRAN /1238

FM. CANBERRA / REF O.UN32484

C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 39 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

CIRCULATION OF L14/REV.1 AND ''ALGERIAN'' AMENDMENTS HAS PRODUCED A SITUATION OF FAMILIAR CONFUSION IN THIS ITEM, AND UNDERLINES AGAIN THE DESIRABILITY OF NEGOTIATING A CONSENSUS TEXT.

2. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO GUIDE YOU CLEARLY AND PRECISELY IN THE EXISTING UNCERTAINTY. YOU MAY HAVE TO EXERCISE DISCRETION IN VOTING ON THE BASIS OF VIEWS EXPRESSED IN EARLIER TELEGRAMS.

3. IT WOULD BE BEST IF THE MOROCCANS DID NOT PROCEED WITH THEIR RESOLUTION. A DECISION WOULD BE PREFEREABLE.

4. IF THEY DO PERSIST HOWEVER YOU SHOULD ABSTAIN ON AN UNAMENDED L14/REV.1. WE DO NOT FAVOUR EXCLUSION OF THE OAU FROM THE PROCESS NOR DO WE THINK THE REFERENCE TO SELF-DETERMINATION IN PP2 IS SUFFICIENT. WE ARE ALSO NOT CONVINCED THAT THE MOROCCAN PROPOSAL REFLECTS A GENUINE WISH TO INVOLVE THE UN IN AN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE TERRITORY.

5. NO DOUBT SOME OR ALL OF THE ALGERIAN AMENDMENTS WOULD BE APPROVED. OUR QUICK REACTION, RUNNING DOWN THE PAGE OF YOUR FAX, WOULD BE TO VOTE RESPECTIVELY YES, YES, YES, ABSTAIN, ABSTAIN, YES, YES. BUT HERE YOU MAY NEED TO TUNE YOUR VOTES WITH THOSE OF LIKE-MINDED STATES. DEPENDING ON THE RESULTING ''BALANCE'' OF THE AMENDED RESOLUTION, YOU SHOULD EITHER ABSTAIN OR SUPPORT.

6. YOU SHOULD OF COURSE CONTINUE TO VOTE FOR THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION.

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

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CONFIDENTIAL
FIRST

ACTION: IH
COPY NO. 1

OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.CH244110

OUT

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IH

OGBAAFA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA	
FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	CN	EX	DPR
ISPP	FAS(IRSAM)	SAM	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LC)	
MLT	IL	GLI	FAREP-A	FAREP-M	
FAREP-P	FAREP-S				

HONOLULU

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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1579
935/28/2
INFO: FAS(IRSAM)
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OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

O.CH243851 GSB

OUT

O.CH243851 1055 28.11.84 CLA FIRST

TO.
PP UN NEW YORK/8614

RP.
PP TEHRAN/1234 PARIS EMB/5795 ALGIERS/326
PP NAIROBI/8754

FM. CANBERRA / REF O.UN32456

R E S T R I C T E D

UNGA 39 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : WESTERN SAHARA

THE APPEARANCE OF A MOROCCAN DRAFT RESOLUTION UNDERLINES OUR WISH THAT THE REGIONAL COUNTRIES CONCERNED SHOULD REACH AGREEMENT. WE DO NOT LIKE BEING PLACED IN THE POSITION OF TAKING SIDES. IF APPROPRIATE, EO should make this point.

2. WE WOULD PREFER THAT THE MOROCCAN DRAFT NOT BE BROUGHT TO A VOTE. IT CONTAINS A NUMBER OF UNSATISFACTORY ASPECTS, INCLUDING ITS ATTEMPT TO HAVE THE UNITED NATIONS CRITICISE A DECISION OF THE OAU. IF IT WERE TO COME TO A VOTE, YOU SHOULD ABSTAIN. IN THIS CASE, WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO INCLUDE IN YOUR EO A FIRM STATEMENT THAT ABSTENTION IN NO WAY IMPLIES ANY RECOGNITION OF SADR.

3. IN THE ABSENCE OF CONSENSUS YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO VOTE FOR L13 BUT WE HOPE THAT ALGERIA SHOWS FLEXIBILITY AND CAN ACCOMMODATE IMPROVEMENTS TO THE TEXT.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

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INFO: FAS(IRSAM)
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2-D.CH243851

OUT

ACTION: IH
SAM

OGBAAFA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA
FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	CN	FAS(EPPD)
EX	DPR	ISPP	FAS(IRSAM)	FAS(ECO)
FAS(LC)	MLT	IL	GLI	FAREP-A
FAREP-M	FAREP-P	FAREP-S		

HONOLULU

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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OUT

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records*



157
935/28/2
FOURTH COMMITTEE
24th meeting
held on
Wednesday, 28 November 1984
at 3 p.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 24th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea)

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CONCLUSION OF THE COMMITTEE'S WORK

Distr. GENERAL
A/C.4/39/SR.24
3 December 1984

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate fascicle for each Committee.



The meeting was called to order at 3.45 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 18: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued) (A/C.4/39/L.13, L.14/Rev.1, L.16 to L.19)

Question of Western Sahara

1. Mr. REDA GUEDIRA (Morocco) said that nearly all of the many resolutions on the Sahara which had been debated and adopted over the past 20 years had dealt with the problem in terms of decolonization. When Morocco became independent in 1956, the colonizing Power, Spain, adamantly refused to restore all of its territory and rejected Morocco's efforts to negotiate a peaceful solution, and Morocco then turned to the United Nations. The initial result was General Assembly resolution 2072 (XX), which urgently requested the Government of Spain, as the administering Power, to take immediately all necessary measures for the liberation of Spanish Sahara from colonial domination and to enter into negotiations on the problems relating to its sovereignty. Faced with Spain's persistent refusal to be reasonable, Morocco turned to the International Court of Justice, which, in a 1975 decision, clearly recognized the ties between Morocco and the population of the Sahara. That unambiguous judgement of the highest international legal body justified the union of Spanish Sahara with Morocco, and subsequent negotiations with Spain had resulted in the 1975 Madrid Agreement. The present impasse was the result of greed disguised as principle, and started when the General Assembly, in resolution 31/45, took note of the decision of the Organization of African Unity to hold an extraordinary session devoted to the question of Western Sahara, which ultimately made the international community the innocent victim of the greatest hoax the world had ever known.

2. The Moroccan position was that its sovereignty over the Sahara was no more than its right under international law, and confirmed by the highest international legal body, the International Court of Justice; and to those who had invoked as a counter-argument the right of self-determination, he pointed out that the International Court of Justice had stated that the validity of that right was not diminished by the fact that in some cases the General Assembly had not required consultation with the inhabitants of a territory either because its population did not constitute a "people" entitled to self-determination or because of special circumstances. To counter the arguments of its adversaries, in 1981, Morocco had proposed that a referendum should be held in the territory, even though none was required under international law, and it promised to abide by the results. The Organization of African Unity Implementation Committee on Western Sahara was therefore organized in order to arrange for such a referendum, and it established the conditions under which one was to be held. That would have left the question of independence to the free choice of the Saharan people. The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic then requested admission to the OAU and Morocco protested because the former was not a sovereign State and because it was for the Saharan people to decide its own fate. The Saharan people was simply ignored, however. The admission of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic to OAU, instead of promoting

(Mr. Reda Guedira, Morocco)

peace, threatened a number of States because it placed the legitimate sovereignty of States at the mercy of minorities. Morocco had therefore been obliged to take the painful decision to withdraw from OAU, even though it had been a founding member of that organization. The OAU Charter could not be changed to suit the convenience of individual members without destroying OAU itself.

3. Turning to the draft resolutions, he said that the real author of draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.13 was well known, despite the many sponsors, and that its many inherent contradictions were obvious. Morocco's own draft resolution in document A/C.4/39/L.14/Rev.1 in no way meant any lessening of its determination to abide by its commitments. Morocco's recourse to OAU for arbitration had been justified and had resulted in some progress. Morocco's only reservation had to do with the question of direct negotiations on a cease-fire, which it rejected on grounds of principle because such negotiations would pre-judge the outcome of a referendum and would reward the aggressor. The United Nations had the means to deal with the situation and it should provide its good offices. Morocco was not acting out of hostility towards OAU, even though it had withdrawn from it; but the situation had changed since Morocco first had recourse to OAU because OAU was now a party to the dispute, and therefore could not be an arbitrator, and Morocco was no longer a member of OAU. OAU had also pre-judged the situation, thereby leaving the United Nations as the only proper forum to deal with a problem which it had itself delegated to OAU in the first place.

4. Despite its withdrawal from OAU, Morocco was for ever African, would remain in all the relevant African relevant organizations and would fight for African dignity in the United Nations.

5. The fact was that since 1976 OAU had failed to solve the problem of the Sahara because of the obduracy of those who had created the problem in the first place. Morocco had shown its goodwill by reiterating its commitment to abide by the results of a referendum, even while the cease-fire in the area was being violated, not by Morocco, but by those who turned to regional bodies while flouting the resolutions of those bodies. Morocco would participate in any action which could promote peace and security in the region, and although that was the aim of its draft resolution, it would now withdraw that resolution in order to show its determination to contribute to a constructive debate in the Committee.

6. Mr. GATER (Rwanda) said that, in recognizing the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, his country had acted in a sovereign manner to promote the right of self-determination and the right to peace and freedom of all peoples without exception, including the people of Western Sahara. The only viable framework for finding a just and lasting solution to the question of Western Sahara was to be found in OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), as reflected in General Assembly resolution 38/40 and in draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.13, which his delegation supported without reservation and which it hoped would be adopted by consensus.

7. Mr. TANAKA (Secretary of the Committee) said that draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.13 would have financial implications, because paragraph 5 required United Nations co-operation in implementing OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX)

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(Mr. Tanaka)

which, in paragraphs 4 and 5, called for a joint United Nations-OAU peace-keeping force to be stationed in Western Sahara during the referendum and mandated United Nations participation in the proper implementation of the resolution as a whole. The Secretary-General wished to state that he was not in a position at that time to prepare estimates of those financial implications and that he accordingly intended, subject to the prior concurrence of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to incur such expenditures as might be necessary and appropriate under the terms of the resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses.

8. Mr. MAGALHÃES (Brazil), speaking in explanation of vote before the vote on draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.13, said that Brazil had consistently supported the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination, and it hoped that a fair referendum would be organized without delay in Western Sahara, in accordance with United Nations and OAU resolutions, especially OAU resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX). It therefore intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Committee.

9. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America) observed that the Committee found itself in a peculiar position. The country most directly concerned in the Western Sahara conflict had put forward a resolution in which it pledged to carry out a cease-fire and support a popular referendum; and it would have been expected that all members of the Committee would applaud such a determination to end the conflict. Yet Morocco had felt impelled to withdraw its resolution, the reason being that amendments had been proposed, in documents A/C.4/39/L.16 to L.19, which would have drastically changed it.

10. The United States had no quarrel with draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.13, which was fine as far as it went. But it greatly regretted that it had not been possible to achieve some form of compromise. That draft resolution and Morocco's draft resolution had not been very far apart. The former called for a referendum under OAU and United Nations auspices and the latter for a referendum under United Nations auspices. It was, therefore, not inconceivable that a means could have been found of bridging the two positions: the Committee could have asked the Secretary-General to arrange for a referendum under "appropriate international auspices". Partisans of either side would have had no difficulty with such a text and that would have moved the problem closer to solution.

11. Similarly, the drafters had dealt uncompromisingly in paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.13 with another main stumbling block, the call for direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire; to which Morocco had objected, as all well knew, because it felt that negotiations should follow a referendum and not precede it. Surely the text of paragraph 3 could have requested the parties instead "to take all the steps necessary with a view to bringing about a cease-fire and to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful settlement on the basis of an act of a legitimate self-determination". Such a wording would have been acceptable to Morocco.

(Mr. Feldman, United States)

12. Instead, the Committee had embarked on an attempt not to solve a problem but to pass a resolution on a problem. To create a situation where one of the key parties to a conflict was driven to feeling that it had been ill-used and not given a fair hearing had been unwise. Since the Committee had not seen fit to draft a consensus resolution, the United States would, with deep regret, abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

13. Mr. de PINIES (Spain) said that when Spain had relinquished its role as administering Power in Western Sahara, it had said that the decolonization of the Territory would occur only when the people were allowed to express their wishes in a valid manner. The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity had repeatedly stated in their resolutions that the question of Western Sahara was a decolonization problem to be solved on the basis of self-determination, through a referendum. The principle had also been accepted by all the parties directly concerned. Spain would vote for draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.13 because it reaffirmed that basic principle unequivocally.

14. There were divergences of opinion on how to apply that principle. OAU had devoted years to finding a way of overcoming those divergences; and Spain hoped, in connection with the recent developments in OAU, that Morocco would soon rejoin that organization and resume its outstanding role in it. A just and enduring solution could only be achieved with the full participation of the parties involved, and the Governments of the Maghreb would have to show proof of generosity and farsightedness.

15. Mr. LASARTE (Uruguay) said that his delegation would vote in favour of draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.13, even though it would have preferred a consensus resolution. With regard to paragraph 3, his delegation believed that the question of which of the parties to the conflict represented the people would be decided in the course of the people's exercise of self-determination, as indeed was affirmed in paragraph 1 of the draft resolution.

16. Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas) said that the main thrust of draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.13 was acceptable to all, but that a lack of political will was the problem. The Bahamas would therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution as a way of furthering implementation of the needed action.

17. The CHAIRMAN announced that Ethiopia, Senegal, the Seychelles and Togo had become co-sponsors of draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.13.

18. A recorded vote was taken by roll call on draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.13.

19. Gabon, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Byelorussian

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Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea,* Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Jamaica, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Spain, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Equatorial Guinea.

Abstaining: Bangladesh, Belgium, Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Comoros, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Nepal, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar,* Romania, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire.

20. Draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.13 was adopted by 90 votes to 1, with 45 abstentions.*

21. Mr. FAN Guoxiang (China) said that his delegation considered that the question of western Sahara was an issue which had been inherited from the colonial past. It supported the right of the people of the Western Sahara to self-determination. The best way to solve world problems was through consultation, not confrontation. It would therefore be helpful to African unity if the problem of western Sahara could be settled by patient negotiations. His delegation had therefore abstained in the vote.

22. Ms. FORSMAN (Finland) said that Finland had followed a consistent policy of support for the self-determination of colonial peoples and regretted that no solution had yet been found to the problem of Western Sahara. It was also a matter for regret that the decisions taken by the Organization of African Unity in 1981

* After the vote had been recorded but before the result had been announced, the representatives of Guinea and Qatar indicated that they had intended not to participate in the vote.

(Ms. Forsman, Finland)

and 1983 had not yet been implemented. Her delegation had voted in favour of the draft resolution but would clearly have preferred it to have been adopted by consensus.

23. Mr. EL SHEIKH (Sudan) said that his country had always believed in the sanctity of the right of peoples to self-determination. It had accordingly participated in the work of the Implementation Committee of the Organization of African Unity and continued to believe that that organization and the United Nations provided the appropriate framework within which a solution to the conflict in Western Sahara should be resolved. The draft resolution had contained many positive ideas but his delegation had been compelled to abstain because of the inclusion of certain language. His delegation's vote reflected the keenness of Sudan to participate with other African countries in the search for a solution which would end the conflict.

24. Mr. BJURNER (Sweden) said that the people of Western Sahara should be given the right to express their wishes freely. His delegation had supported the efforts of the Organization of African Unity which was working in accordance with the principle that regional problems should be resolved in a regional context. Sweden had accordingly welcomed the resolutions and decisions of the Organization of African Unity which had indicated how a referendum on the issue could be conducted in a peaceful manner. It regretted that efforts to that end had not yet succeeded and that the people of Western Sahara had accordingly not been able to exercise their rights. His delegation regretted that certain elements which could have contributed to a solution had not been reflected in the draft resolution. The United Nations had an unequivocal role to play on the issue of decolonization if regional efforts failed. It was a matter for regret that it had not been possible to reach consensus but his delegation had supported the draft resolution with a view to facilitating a peaceful settlement.

25. Mr. ALMUSLECHNER (Austria) shared the view of other delegations that it would have been preferable if the draft resolution had been adopted by consensus. His delegation had voted in favour of it because of its general thrust which called for a peaceful solution through negotiations. A political solution should be primarily achieved through the Organization of African Unity with the United Nations, particularly through the good offices of the Secretary-General, playing a supporting role.

26. The CHAIRMAN said that, before declaring that the Committee had concluded its work for the thirty-ninth session, he would summarize its achievements briefly.

27. Seven items had been allocated to the Committee by the General Assembly and the Committee had completed its business in 24 meetings. It had adopted 20 draft resolutions and decisions and, of the 20 draft proposals approved, 17 had been prepared and submitted by the Special Committee of 24. The work of the Special Committee of 24 had been particularly valuable in that it had eliminated the need for the Fourth Committee to hold a series of protracted informal meetings of various drafting groups. He welcomed the fact that the Committee had been able to adopt most of its resolutions and decisions by consensus.

(The Chairman)

28. During the current session, the plight of the Namibian people had emerged as the one issue which had continued to engage the Committee's most serious attention. The activities of foreign economic and other interests had also been the focus of considerable debate. There had been wide agreement among delegations that the activities of foreign economic and other interests could, if not regulated properly, adversely affect the decolonization process in the remaining colonial territories. On the issue of Namibia, there had been a sense of frustration at the continuing non-implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Most delegations had been in agreement that co-operation with South Africa only provided sustenance to the racist régime and therefore undermined the resolve of the United Nations to end South African colonial rule over Namibia. A number of delegations had expressed regret that extraneous elements, such as the linkage of South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola had seemingly stalled the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

29. The Committee had reaffirmed the importance of the information submitted on the Non-Self-Governing Territories pursuant to article 73 (e) of the Charter. Visiting missions had also performed an essential role by amassing information which was useful to the Committee's deliberations and by verifying on the spot whether or not administering Powers were indeed fulfilling their responsibilities. Despite progress in the Non-Self-Governing Territories in the Pacific, the Committee must continue its efforts to ensure that the rights and aspirations of the peoples of those Territories were adequately addressed.

30. The Committee had also repeated its appeal for greater financial and other support for the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for southern Africa and for continued support for the programme regarding the provision of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of those territories that had not yet attained self-government or independence.

31. The role of the United Nations in the decolonization process had been one of its outstanding accomplishments; indeed, in no other area had the United Nations played a more fruitful and constructive role.

CONCLUSION OF THE COMMITTEE'S WORK

32. Following an exchange of courtesies, the CHAIRMAN declared that the Committee had concluded its work for the thirty-ninth session.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.



General Assembly

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27 November 1984
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Sao Tome and Principe: amendments to revised draft resolution
A/C.4/39/L.14/Rev.1

Question of western Sahara

1. After the second preambular paragraph, add a new paragraph to read as follows:

"Reaffirming that the question of western Sahara is a question of decolonization which remains to be completed on the basis of the exercise by the people of western Sahara of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence,"

2. After the third preambular paragraph, add a new paragraph to read as follows:

"Recalling its resolution 38/40 of 7 December 1983, in which it took note of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,"



General Assembly

935/28/2
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27 November 1984
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Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Burkina Faso: amendment to revised draft resolution
A/C.4/39/L.14/Rev.1

Question of Western Sahara

Redraft the fourth preambular paragraph to read as follows:

"Considering that it rests with the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to initiate the settlement process for the question of western Sahara on the basis of resolution AHG/RES.104 (XIX) contained in General Assembly resolution 38/40."



General Assembly

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A/C.4/39/L.18
27 November 1984
ENGLISH
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Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Algeria, Madagascar and Mozambique: amendments to revised draft
resolution A/C.4/39/L.14/Rev.1

Question of Western Sahara

1. Redraft paragraph 1 (a) to read as follows:

"To continue to monitor developments relating to the question,"

2. Add the following at the end of paragraph 1 (b):

"by promoting the opening of direct negotiations between the two parties to the conflict, Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, on the basis of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX);"

3. Redraft paragraph 1 (c) to read as follows:

"After these negotiations have been initiated, and after the effective establishment of a cease-fire, to propose any measure that might facilitate the organization of a peaceful and just referendum free from all administrative or military constraints under the auspices of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity;"

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UNITED
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General Assembly

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27 November 1984
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Algeria: amendment to revised draft resolution A/C.4/39/L.14/Rev.1

Question of western Sahara

In the fifth preambular paragraph, after "United Nations" add "and of the Organization of African Unity,"



General Assembly

935/28/2

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27 November 1984
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Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Morocco: revised draft resolution

Question of western Sahara

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

Considering that it rests with the United Nations to seek a settlement process appropriate to the situation,

Recalling that Morocco gave an undertaking to accept a cease-fire and to abide unreservedly by the results of a peaceful and just referendum under the auspices of the United Nations,

1/ A/39/23 (Part VI), chap. X.

1. Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations:

(a) To pursue consideration of the question;

(b) To lend his good offices to the speedy attainment of a cease-fire;

(c) After the effective establishment of a cease-fire, to propose any measures that might facilitate the organization of a referendum under the auspices of the United Nations;

2. Invites the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session on the question of Western Sahara.



General Assembly

Distr. 15)
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435/28/2

A/C.4/39/L.14
26 November 1984
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Morocco: draft resolution

Question of Western Sahara

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

Noting that Morocco maintains that, by giving a seat to a new member that does not have the status of an independent and sovereign State, the Organization of African Unity has flouted not only its own Charter but also the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination, and that, as a result, it has decided to withdraw immediately from the Organization, and that this withdrawal must be placed on record,

Considering that this situation is liable to deprive of any chances of success the process of solving the problem of western Sahara previously envisaged at a time

1/ A/39/23 (Part VI), chap. X.

when Morocco was a member of the Organization of African Unity, and that, furthermore, that is indeed the view expressed on 23 November 1984 by the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity to the effect that "the problem of the Sahara no longer falls within the competence of the Organization of African Unity",

Considering that, in these circumstances, it rests with the United Nations to seek a settlement process appropriate to the situation,

Recalling, however, that, according to the statements solemnly made on several occasions by Morocco, before both the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations General Assembly, Morocco gave an undertaking to accept a cease-fire and to abide unreservedly by the results of a peaceful and just referendum under the auspices of the United Nations, and that these achievements should be preserved and should serve as a basis for new progress towards a definitive solution of the problem of Western Sahara,

1. Instructs the Secretary-General of the United Nations:

- (a) To pursue consideration of the question;
- (b) To lend his good offices to the speedy attainment of a cease-fire;
- (c) After the effective establishment of a cease-fire, to propose any measures that might facilitate the organization of a referendum under the auspices of the United Nations;

2. Invites the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session on the question of Western Sahara.

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PP LUSAKA/103 HARARE/131 DAR ES SALAAM/219
PP CAIRO/069

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R E S T R I C T E D

S.A.D.R. - REQUEST FOR RECOGNITION

START OF SUMMARY

GHANA RECOGNISES THE SADR AND HAS ACCEPTED THE CREDENTIALS OF A NON-RESIDENT AMBASSADOR. WHILE THE SADR'S POSITION HAS BEEN ENHANCED BY THE RECENT DECISION OF THE OAU SUMMIT, IT IS STILL ONLY FORMALLY RECOGNISED BY 30 OF THE OAU/S MEMBERS.

END OF SUMMARY

GHANA RECOGNISES THE SAHRAWI ARAB DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (SADR) AND SUPPORTED ITS SEATING AT THE OAU SUMMIT. AN AMBASSADOR FROM SADR, RESIDENT IN BENIN, PRESENTED HIS CREDENTIALS IN ACCRA ON 17 SEPTEMBER 1984.

2. DURING OUR DISCUSSION ON 27 NOVEMBER WITH AMISSAH (DIRECTOR AFRICAN AND OAU AFFAIRS, GHANAIA MFA), WE SOUGHT HIS VIEWS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SEATING OF THE SADR IN TERMS OF RECOGNITION. AMISSAH SAID THAT 30 AFRICAN STATES NOW FORMALLY RECOGNISED THE SADR. SECONDLY, AS THE OAU HAS ONLY 'STATE MEMBERS' IT COULD BE IMPLIED THAT 'BY ACQUIESCENCE' THE OAU AND OVER TWO-THIRDS OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES RECOGNISED THE SADR AS 'A STATE'. HOWEVER, IT COULD ALSO BE ARGUED THAT SOME COUNTRIES WHICH DID NOT RECOGNISE THE SADR, ACCEPTED ITS SEATING IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THE LONGSTANDING STALEMATE AND AS A REACTION AGAINST MOROCCO'S CONTINUED INTRANSIGENCE. SADR'S POSITION HAD DEFINITELY BEEN ENHANCED BY THE OAU DECISION AND THERE MAY NOW BE A GRADUAL MOVE BY SOME OF THE REMAINING 20 OAU MEMBERS TO EXTEND RECOGNITION.

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3. THE WESTERN SAHARAN ISSUE HAS PLAGUED THE OAU FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS. THERE HAS BEEN INCREASING FRUSTRATION AMONST MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES AT THE INABILITY OF THE OAU TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY BECAUSE OF THE DEEP DIVISIONS OVER THIS ISSUE. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE HAS BEEN A GRADUAL INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES RECOGNISING THE SADR AND A CORRESPONDING WEAKENING OF THE RESOLVE OF SOME OF MOROCCO'S SUPPORTERS (IN WEST AFRICA, FOR EXAMPLE, GUINEA, SENEGAL AND TOGO) TO CONTINUE THAT SUPPORT IN THE FACE OF MOROCCO'S INTRANSIGENCE AND UNWILLINGNESS TO IMPLEMNET THE OAU RESOLUTION 104. THE DETERMINATION OF THE SADR TO TAKE ITS PLACE AT THE ADDIS SUMMIT COMBINED WITH AN ACTIVE PRE SUMMIT LOBBYING EXERCISE BY SADR REPRESENTATIVES PREPARED THE GROUND FOR ITS ACCEPTANCE AT THE SUMMIT. ALGERIA HAD ALSO BEEN ACTIVE ON LOBBYING AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS TOWARDS THIS END. KING HASSAN'S STATEMENTS PRIOR TO THE SUMMIT SEEMED TO IMPLY ACCEPTANCE OF THE INEVITABILITY OF THE SEATING OF THE SADR. IT WAS INTERESTING THAT DESPITE LIBYA'S AGREEMENT WITH MOROCCO AND THE GENERAL BELIEF THAT THIS WOULD BOLSTER MOROCCO'S POSITION ON THE WESTERN SAHARA. LIBYA FAILED TO SUPPORT MOROCCO ON THE ISSUE. IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE MILITARY SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN WESTERN SAHARA, LIBYA FAILED TO SUPPORT MOROCCO ON THE ISSUE. IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE MILITARY SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN WESTERN SAHARA WAS OF LITTLE RELEVANCE IN THE SEATING OF THE SADR DELEGATION.

AC. AAA TO SAM 28/0820LT

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ACTION: SAM

JCAA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	PRO	FAS(EPPD)
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UNGA 39 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

FROM FILE 103/3/4 415/2

THE FOURTH COMMITTEE CONTINUED ITS CONSIDERATION OF WESTERN SAHARA ON 26 NOVEMBER WITH THE HEARING OF A NUMBER OF PETITIONERS FROM PRO-MOROCCAN SAHARAN ORGANISATIONS. A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS ALSO SPOKE IN THE DEBATE, ALL OF WHOM WERE CRITICAL OF MOROCCO'S POSITION.

2. MOROCCO SUBMITTED A DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/C4/49/L/14) ON 26 NOVEMBER (TEXT BY FAX). ACCORDINGLY THE FOURTH COMMITTEE WILL TAKE ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS L13 AND L14 ON 28 NOVEMBER 1984. MOROCCO IS THE ONLY REMAINING SPEAKER IN THE DEBATE. THE MOROCCAN DRAFT IS EXTREMELY CRITICAL OF THE OAU FOR HAVING SEATED THE SADR AND ASSERTS THAT THIS DECISION DEPRIVES THE OAU OF ANY COMPETENCE IN RELATION TO A SETTLEMENT OF THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE.

3. THE MOROCCAN DRAFT WAS CIRCULATED AFTER THE CLOSURE OF THE MEETING ON 26 NOVEMBER AND DELEGATIONS DO NOT HAVE INSTRUCTIONS ALTHOUGH A NUMBER OF WESTERN DELEGATIONS INDICATED THAT THEY EXPECTED TO ABSTAIN ON THE TEXT. AT FIRST GLANCE THE MOROCCAN DRAFT SEEMS UNLIKELY TO ATTRACT MUCH SUPPORT. ALGERIA INDICATED BEFORE THE SUBMISSION OF L.14 THAT IT WOULD AMEND ANY MOROCCAN DRAFT RESOLUTION AND L.14 MAY HAVE BEEN A FILIBUSTERING MOVE TO ENABLE A MOROCCAN MINISTER (DUE IN NEW YORK ON 26 NOVEMBER) TO DELIBER THE MOROCCAN DEBATE STATEMENTS.

4. IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS IN REFTEL WE EXPLAINED TO THE ALGERIANS THAT WE HOPED IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO AMEND L.13 IN A MANNER WHICH WOULD GO SOMEWAY TO MEETING MOROCCO'S CONCERNS AND WOULD ALSO OVERCOME SOME OF THE PROBLEMS WE HAD WITH IT. THEIR RESPONSE WAS NON COMMITTAL. BEFORE THE APPEARANCE OF L14 AUSTRIA, FINLAND, SWEDEN AND NEW ZEALAND HAD ADVISED US THAT THEY WOULD PROBABLY SUPPORT L13 ALTHOUGH THERE WAS AN ELEMENT OF INTERDEPENDENCE IN THAT EACH WAS TO BE GUIDED BY THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY LIKE MINDED DELEGATIONS. THE EC10 (WITH THE PROBABLY EXCEPTION OF GREECE) ARE EXPECTED TO ABSTAIN ON BOTH DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

5. GIVEN THE ATTITUDE TAKEN IN THE MOROCCAN TEXT TO THE OAU AND THE EXCLUSION OF ANY ROLE FOR THE OAU IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT WE ABSTAIN

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ON L14 IF IT IS PUT TO THE VOTE.

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R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA

FROM FILE 235/1 241/2/5

THERE IS A STORY GOING AROUND IN ADDIS ABABA THAT THE LIBYAN/MOROCCAN TREATY WAS LITTLE MORE THAN AN ELABORATE PLOY ON LIBYA'S PART TO FORCE MOROCCO FROM THE OAU. THE EVIDENCE FOR IT IS SLIM BUT INTRIGUING.

2. AT THE RECENT OAU SUMMIT LIBYA WAS REPRESENTED BY ITS FOREIGN MINISTER, ALI TREIKI, RATHER THAN BY GADDAFI OR JALLOUD. ORIGINALLY THIS WAS SEEN AS AN UNWILLINGNESS ON THE PART OF GADDAFI TO HAVE TO BE SEEN TO WALK OUT OF THE SESSION WITH MOROCCO. NOW, HOWEVER, IN A RATHER MORE MACHIAVELLIAN WAY IT IS BEING SEEN AS GADDAFI'S ATTEMPT TO CAUSE MOROCCO TO THINK THAT WAY., IN OTHER WORDS TO ACCEPT A LIBYAN WALKOUT TOGETHER WITH ZAIRE. LIBYA OF COURSE DID NO SUCH THING AND IN FACT WAS NOT EVEN OBSERVED TO APPLAUDE, LIKE SO MANY OTHERS IN AFRICA HALL, WHEN KING HASSAN'S INTENTION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE ORGANISATION WAS READ OUT.

3. AS FOR ANY CONFIRMATION OF THE RUMOUR, ON THE NIGHT OF 24 NOVEMBER, SADR AMBASSADOR TO EAST AFRICA AND THE OAU, MOULUD SAID, HOSTED A RECEPTION AT THE OAU HEADQUARTERS 'ON THE OCCASION OF THE SADR PARTICIPATION AT THE 20TH OAU SUMMIT AS A FULL MEMBER STATE OF THE CONTINENTAL ORGANISATION'. THE WHOLE LIBYAN EMBASSY ATTENDED. WHAT IS MORE, THE RATHER FLAMBOYANT LIBYAN AMBASSADOR EVEN WORE THE TRADITIONAL PALE BLUE ROBES OF THE WESTERN SAHARANS. IT WAS EITHER A BLATENTLY CRUDE ATTEMPT TO PATCH THINGS UP OR ELSE THERE MAY BE SOME GRAINS OF TRUTH IN THE RUMOUR. (THE RECEPTION WAS WELL ATTENDED, THOUGH NO WEQG GOVERNMENTS WERE REPRESENTED.)

4. SPECULATION IN THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO THE SUMMIT HAD IT THAT THE MOROCCAN/LIBYAN PACT CAME FROM GADDAFI'S DISENCHANTMENT WITH WHAT WAS SEEN AS POLISARIO FALLING MORE AND MORE UNDER THE RECENTLY MODERATE SPELL OF ALGERIA. FOR MOROCCO'S PART, THE DECISION TO SUP

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WITH THE DEVIL PROBABLY STEMMED FROM THE HOPE THAT, ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, LIBYA MIGHT BE ABLE TO PERSUADE SOME AFRICAN STATES EITHER NOT TO ATTEND THE SUMMIT OR TO JOIN A WALKOUT. IN THE EVENT, IT SEEM THE MOROCCANS' SPOON WAS NOT LONG ENOUGH.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER	FOREIGN MINISTER	MIN DEFENCE
DEP DEFENCE	DEP P M AND CABINET	JIO

ACTION: SAM JCAA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA	
FAS(SEP)	FAS(EANA)	EUR	FAS(EPPD)	EX	
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FAS(LC)	IL	FAS(MFS)	SAS	FAREP-A	
FAREP-M	FAREP-P	FAREP-S			

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MS

C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 39: FOURTH COMMITTEE: ITEM 18: WESTERN SAHARA

OUR PREFERENCE ON THIS ITEM WOULD BE FOR A CONSENSUS AND WE HOPE THAT ALGERIA COULD ACCEPT CHANGES TO THE DRAFT SO THAT IT COULD ATTRACT WIDE SUPPORT. WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THE WORDING OF PARA 1 OF 37/28 TO OP PARA 1 IN THIS DRAFT. WE WOULD ALSO LIKE THE INCLUSION OF REFERENCE TO AHG RESOLUTION 103 (XVIII), OF WHICH MOROCCO APPROVES, AS WELL AS AHG 104 (XIX), WHICH THE MOROCCANS FIND UNACCEPTABLE. WE HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE REFERENCE TO THE POLISARIO FRONT IN OP PARA 3 OF THE DRAFT. WHILE AUSTRALIA REGARDS POLISARIO AS REPRESENTATIVE OF AN IMPORTANT BODY OF OPINION IN THE TERRITORY, WE DO NOT REGARD IT AS THE SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WESTERN SAHARAN PEOPLE.

2. IF A VOTE IS NECESSARY ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION, YOU SHOULD VOTE IN FAVOUR. YOU SHOULD MAKE AN EOY COVERING ABOVE POINTS AS NECESSARY. YOU SHOULD ALSO URGE THAT THE PARTIES WORK TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WHICH TAKES ACCOUNT OF THE RIGHT OF THE POPULATION OF THE TERRITORY TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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UNGA 39: FOURTH COMMITTEE: ITEM 18: WESTERN SAHARA

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Operative paragraph 8 is seeking to set a dangerous precedent, to say the least, by suggesting that the General Assembly request directly the organ of another international organization (i.e. : The OAU Secretary general) to keep the U.N. Secretary general informed about the progress accomplished in the implementation of OAU decisions.

The last paragraph requests the U.N. Secretary general to follow up the implementation of the "present resolution" while ignoring all other resolutions and decisions on this question.

Finally, the draft resolution seeks to put obstacles to block the conduct of the referendum, and the process of a peaceful settlement by :

- giving priority to a contested precondition which is at the root of the crisis of the OAU
- introducing an extraneous element, to the peaceful process laid down in all its details by the implementation committee of the OAU
- relegating to a secondary degree of importance the ultimate and essential goal in this conflict which is the conduct of referendum
- prejudging the results of the referendum of self-determination.

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23 November 1984
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Request for hearing

Addendum

Telegram dated 17 November 1984 from Mr. Dakhil Khalil, senior
official of the Parti de l'Union Nationale Sahraouie, addressed
to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee*

Rabat

As the Fourth Committee is to consider the so-called question of Western Sahara at its thirty-ninth session, I have the honour to request you to permit me to be heard as a petitioner in my capacity as a senior official of the Parti de l'Union Nationale Sahraouie.

I shall be assisted by Mr. Hammoudi Bouhnana, a senior official of the Parti de l'Union Nationale Sahraouie.

Dakhil KHALIL
Parti de l'Union Nationale Sahraouie
Laayoune (Morocco)

* Distributed in accordance with a decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 20th meeting, on 23 November 1984.



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23 November 1984
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Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Request for hearing

Addendum

Telegram dated 17 November 1984 from Igne Bohoy Sid Ahmed, Secretary-General of the Mouvement de Résistance des Hommes Bleus (MOREHOB), addressed to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee*

Rabat

In view of the Fourth Committee's forthcoming consideration of the so-called question of Western Sahara, I have the honour to request you to authorize me to take the floor as a petitioner before your Committee in order to state the position of my Organization. I shall be assisted by Mr. Ghilani Dlimi.

Igne Bohoy Sid AHMED
Secretary-General of the Mouvement de
Résistance des Hommes Bleus (MOREHOB)

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General Assembly

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23 November 1984
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FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Request for hearing

Addendum

Telegram dated 17 November 1984 from Mr. Biadillah Mohamed Cheikh,
Secretary-General of the Front de Libération du Sahara (Morocco),
addressed to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee*

Rabat

As the so-called question of the Western Sahara is to be discussed at the session of the Fourth Committee, I have the honour to request you to permit me to take the floor before the Committee in order to state the position of my Organization. I shall be assisted by Mr. Mallainine Sidati.

Biadillah Mohamed CHEIKH
Secretary-General of the Front de
Libération du Sahara (Morocco)

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FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Request for hearing

Addendum

Telegram dated 17 November 1984 from Mr. Hamdati Chbihanna Maalainine,
President of the Association of Former Members of the Moroccan
Liberation Army in the Es-Smara (Morocco) Saharan provinces,
addressed to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee*

Rabat

On behalf of the Association of Former Members of the Liberation Army, I request you to authorize me to take the floor as a petitioner before the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly during the discussion of the so-called question of Western Sahara at its thirty-ninth session. I wish to inform you that I shall be assisted by Mr. Habouha Lahbib and Mr. Abba Ali Cheikh.

Hamdati Chbihanna MAALAININE
President of the Association of Former
Members of the Moroccan Liberation Army
in the Es-Smara (Morocco) Saharan province

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Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Request for hearing

Addendum

Telegram dated 17 November 1984 from Messrs. Leili Mohamed Salem and Chrif Dlimi, representatives of the members of the Association des Parents des Séquestrés de Tindouf Oued-ed-dahab (Morocco), addressed to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee*

Rabat

We, the parents of the persons abducted and illegally held in Algerian territory, have the honour to request you to allow us to speak during the debate on the so-called question of western Sahara which is to be considered by the Fourth Committee during the current thirty-ninth session, in order to explain our position.

Leili Mohamed SALEM

Chrif DLIMI

Representatives of the members of the
Association des Parents des
Séquestrés de Tindouf Oued-ed-dahab
(Morocco)

* Distributed in accordance with a decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 20th meeting, on 23 November 1984.



General Assembly

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A/C.4/39/L.13
23 November 1984
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Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Panama, Sao Tome and Principe, Vanuatu, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia and Zimbabwe: draft resolution

Question of western Sahara

The General Assembly,

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling its resolution 38/40 of 7 December 1983 on the question of Western Sahara,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

1/ A/39/23 (Part VI), chap. X.

Taking note of the report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on Western Sahara, 2/

Recalling resolution AHG/RES.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara, 3/ adopted by the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983,

1. Reaffirms that the question of Western Sahara is a question of decolonization which remains to be completed on the basis of the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence;
2. Reaffirms that the solution of the question of Western Sahara lies in the implementation of resolution AHG/RES.104 (XIX) of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which establishes ways and means for a just and definitive solution to the Western Sahara conflict;
3. Requests, to that end, the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations;
4. Welcomes the efforts of the Organization of African Unity and its Implementation Committee with a view to promoting a just and definitive solution to the question of Western Sahara in accordance with the resolutions and decisions of that Organization and the United Nations on the question;
5. Reaffirms the determination of the United Nations to co-operate fully with the Organization of African Unity with a view to implementing the relevant decisions of that Organization, in particular resolution AHG/RES.104 (XIX);
6. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its fortieth session;
7. Invites the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved in the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity relating to Western Sahara;

2/ A/39/680, annex.

3/ See A/38/312, annex.

8. Invites the Secretary-General to follow the situation in Western Sahara closely, with a view to the implementation of the present resolution, and to report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session.

A/C.4/39/L.13
23 November 1984
ENGLISH
ORIGINALS: FRENCH

40th session

Special Committee

Agenda item 18

DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Albania, Angola, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Cameroon, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic
Liberian Republic, Guyana, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Lao People's
Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania,
Mexico, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Panama, Sao Tome and Principe, Vanuatu,
Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia and Zimbabwe; Draft resolution

Question of Western Sahara

The General Assembly

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling its resolution 38/40 of 7 September 1983 on the question of Western Sahara,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

1/ A/39/23 (Part VI), chap. X.



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/C.4/39/2/Add.12
23 November 1984
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Request for hearing

Addendum

Telegram dated 17 November 1984 from Messrs. Baahim Douihi and
Hamdi Zergou on behalf of those elected by the communes and
those elected by the occupational chambers, Laayoune (Morocco),
addressed to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee*

Rabat

Since the Fourth Committee is soon to consider the so-called question of Western Sahara, we have the honour to request you to allow us to speak to explain to that Committee the position of those elected locally to represent the inhabitants of the southern Moroccan provinces.

Baahim DOUIHI, assisted by

Hamdi ZERGOU

on behalf of those elected by the
communes and those elected by the
occupational chambers, Laayoune
(Morocco)

* Distributed in accordance with a decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 20th meeting, on 23 November 1984.

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FIRST

133
ACTION: IH
COPY NO. 2

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.UN32429 MJWO
TOR 14.26 24.11.84

O.UN32429 2200 23.11.84 CLA FIRST

TO.
PP CANBERRA/918

RP.
RR ALGIERS/305 NAIROBI/796 PARIS EMB/965

FM. UN NEW YORK / REF O.UN32384 O.UN32385 F.UN1111

C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 39: FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

THE FOURTH COMMITTEE HEARD PETITIONERS ON WESTERN SAHARA AND
BEGAN ITS DEBATE ON THE ITEM ON 22 NOVEMBER 1984.

2. ALGERIA SUBMITTED THE DRAFT RESOLUTION SENT IN O.UN32385
AND THIS HAS BEEN CIRCULATED AS A/C4/39/L.13. IT HAS THIRTY
ONE COSPONSORS. MOROCCO CIRCULATED A COMMENTARY ON THE DRAFT
RESOLUTION. ITS PRINCIPAL OBJECTIONS TO THE ALGERIAN DRAFT
WERE THAT IT RECALLED ONLY RESOLUTION 38/40 AND NO OTHER RESOLUTIONS
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OR OTHER BODIES., IT ASKED THE ASSEMBLY
TO ENDORSE THE REPORT OF A SUBSIDIARY BODY OF THE OAU AND NOT OF
THE OAU ITSELF., IT OMITTED ANY REFERENCE TO THE OAU SUMMIT
RESOLUTION 103(XVIII) AND IN OP 3 IT RAISED ISSUES WHICH HAD SPLIT
THE OAU. THE MOROCCAN COMMENTARY FOLLOWS BY FAX.

3. THE FOURTH COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN IS ANXIOUS TO CONCLUDE THE WORK OF
THE COMMITTEE AND HAS SUGGESTED THAT THE DEBATE BE CONCLUDED ON 26
NOVEMBER AND A VOTE BE TAKEN ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION OR RESOLUTIONS
AT THE TIME. THIS SEEMS OPTIMISTIC AS THERE ARE A NUMBER OF
PETITIONERS AND SPEAKERS IN THE GENERAL DEBATE AND IT IS THEREFORE
LIKELY THAT THE COMMITTEE WILL NOT VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION UNTIL 28
NOVEMBER.

4. AT THE MOMENT THE MOROCCANS DENY THAT THEY HAVE ANY INTENTION OF
INTRODUCING A SEPARATE DRAFT RESOLUTION BUT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEY
MAY SEEK TO AMEND THE ALGERIAN TEXT EITHER THROUGH THE SUBMISSION OF
FORMAL AMENDMENTS OR BY WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES THROUGH
INTERMEDIARIES WITH ALGERIA TO ARRIVE AT A MORE ACCEPTABLE TEXT.
ALGERIA MAY BE PREPARED TO MODERATE THE TEXT TO INCREASE ITS OWN
SUPPORT AND TO ISOLATE MOROCCO FURTHER. IT IS DIFFICULT HOWEVER TO

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IN

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

132

CONFIDENTIAL
FIRST

ACTION: IH
COPY NO. 2

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-O.UN32429

IN

SEE HOW MOROCCO CAN SALVAGE MUCH FROM THE EXERCISE, EVEN IF THE RESOLUTION IS IMPROVED FROM ITS POINT OF VIEW. LAST YEAR ITS TACTICS OF PROPOSING AMENDMENTS AND WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES PAID OFF IN THAT THE FOURTH COMMITTEE WAS ABLE TO ADOPT FOR THE FIRST TIME A CONSENSUS RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA (ALBIT ONE WITH WHICH MOROCCO WAS UNHAPPY). WITH MOROCCO'S DEPARTURE FROM THE OAU OVER THE SEATING OF SADE HOWEVER THERE SEEMS LITTLE LEEWAY FOR A CONSENSUS TO BE REACHED THIS YEAR.

5. IN THIS FAIRLY FLUID SITUATION WESTERN DELEGATIONS ARE WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS. THERE IS HOWEVER A GENERAL PREDISPOSITION TO RECOMMEND AN ABSTENTION ON THE ALGERIAN DRAFT AS IT STANDS ALTHOUGH THERE IS SOME EXPECTATION THAT THE DRAFT WILL BE MODERATED. OF THOSE WEOGS WHO VOTED WITH AUSTRALIA IN SUPPORT OF THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION AT UNGA 37 - SWEDEN, AUSTRIA AND FINLAND, - ALL APPEAR LIKELY TO RECOMMEND ABSTENTION THIS YEAR.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IH
SAM

OGBAAFA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA	
FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	CN	EX	DPR
ISPP	FAS(IRSAM)	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LC)		MLT
IL	GLI	FAREP-A	FAREP-M	FAREP-P	
FAREP-S					

HONOLULU

CONFIDENTIAL
FIRST

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

935/28/2
131

FIRST

INFO: IH
COPY NO. 1

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.PL000728 MJWO
TOR 17.41 23.11.84

O.PL000728 1020 23.11.84 UNC FIRST

TO.
PP CANBERRA/671

FM. PORT LOUIS / REF O.CH242309

U N C L A S S I F I E D

'SADR' - REQUEST FOR RECOGNITION BY AUSTRALIA

TO FILE 141/7/1 FROM FILE 920/8

START OF SUMMARY

MAURITIUS RECOGNISED THE 'SADR' IN 1982 SHORTLY AFTER THE ELECTION OF THE MMM/PSM GOVERNMENT. MAURITIUS REGARDED THE EXPEDITIOUS WAY IN WHICH THE 'SADR' QUESTION WAS HANDLED AT THE RECENT OAU MEETING AS INDICATING THAT AFRICAN STATES DID NOT WISH TO REMAIN BOGGED DOWN ON A POLITICAL PROCEDURAL ISSUE. MAURITIUS WELCOMED THE INCREASED ATTENTION GIVEN TO PRESSING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. END OF SUMMARY.

WE SAW MAKHAN THE MINISTER/COUNSELLOR IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, WHO ACCOMPANIED FOREIGN MINISTER GAYAN TO THE RECENT OAU MEETING AND SPOKE TO HIM IN TERMS OF REFTEL.

2. THE MMM/PSM GOVERNMENT TOOK A DECISION AT POLITICAL LEVEL TO RECOGNISE THE 'SADR' SHORTLY AFTER ITS ELECTION IN 1982. THERE HAS BEEN NO DISPOSITION BY THE PRESENT MAURITIAN GOVERNMENT TO SEEK TO OVERTURN THAT DECISION.

3. MAKHAN SAYS THAT MOROCCO DID NOT LOBBY ACTIVELY FOR SUPPORT FOR ITS WALKOUT. HE FELT THAT THERE HAD BEEN A WELCOME TENDENCY AT THE RECENT OAU MEETING NOT TO ALLOW THE 'SADR' QUESTION TO DISTRACT MEMBER STATES FROM THE CONSIDERATION OF THE SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING AFRICAN COUNTRIES AT THE PRESENT TIME.

4. MAKHAN STATES THAT ACCORDING TO HIS FIGURING ON THE EVE OF THE RECENT OAU MEETING, NIGERIA BECAME THE 30TH AFRICAN STATE TO RECOGNISE THE 'SADR'. HE DID NOT THINK THAT THE RECENT AGREEMENT WITH LIBYA HAD MUCH INFLUENCE ON THE SITUATION. RATHER HE EMPHASISED AGAIN THAT MOST OAU COUNTRIES WERE DETERMINED NOT TO BE SIDETRACKED FROM DISCUSSION OF PRESSING ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES.

5. COPY OF FOREIGN MINISTER GAYAN'S STATEMENT TO PARLIAMENT ON THE OAU MEETING IS BEING SENT BY BAG.

.../2

FIRST

IN

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

130

FIRST

INFO: IH
COPY NO. 1

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-O.PL000728

IN

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ACTION: SAM

JCAA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	PRO	FAS(EPPD)
DPR	ISPP	FAS(IRSAM)	IH	FAS(LC)
MLT	FAS(MFS)	SAS	SECOM	

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

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IN

CONFIDENTIAL

935/28/2

ACTION: IH
COPY NO. 1

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.UN32384 2150 22.11.84 CLA

TO.
PP CANBERRA/875

RP.
RR PARIS EMB/960 ALGIERS/303 NAIROBI/792

FM. UN NEW YORK / REF O.UN32385

CONFIDENTIAL

UNGA 39 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

FROM FILE 103/3/4 415/2

THE FOURTH COMMITTEE IS TO CONSIDER WESTERN SAHARA ON 23 NOVEMBER AND 26 NOVEMBER. 14 PETITIONERS REPRESENTING PRO-POLISARIO AND PRO-MOROCCAN ORGANISATIONS ARE SCHEDULED TO ADDRESS THE COMMITTEE WHICH WILL THEN CONDUCT A GENERAL DEBATE.

2. THE HANDLING OF WESTERN SARARA IS LIKELY TO BE MORE CONTENTIOUS THIS YEAR THAN LAST BECAUSE OF MOROCCO'S DECISION TO LEAVE THE OAU OVER THE SEATING OF SADR.

3. ALGERIA CIRCULATED A DRAFT RESOLUTION LATE ON 21 NOVEMBER THE TEXT OF WHICH FOLLOWS BY CABLE. THE RESOLUTION TAKES NOTE OF THE REPORT OF THE OAU IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE (ENDORSED BY THE RECENT ADDIS SUMMIT) AND REAFFIRMS THAT THE SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA LIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 104 (XIX) ADOPTED BY THE OAU HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN JUNE 1983 WHICH WAS REPRODUCED IN TOTO IN RESOLUTION 38/40 ADOPTED AT UNGA 38.

3. THE RESOLUTION DOES NOT TAKE ACCOUNT OF RESOLUTION 103 (XVIII) WHICH WAS INCLUDED IN LAST YEAR'S RESOLUTION AND WHICH IS THE FORMULATION FAVOURED BY MOROCCO BECAUSE IT DOES NOT REFER TO MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT AS 'THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT'

4. PERHAPS THE MOST DIFFICULT PARAGRAPH FOR WESTERN DELEGATIONS (WHICH BY AND LARGE HAVE PREFERRED TO SEE THE MATTER RESOLVED BY THE OAU AS THE RELEVANT REGIONAL ORGANISATION) IS OP 3 WHICH REQUESTS MOROCCO AND POLISARIO AS THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT TO UNDERTAKE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS TO BRING ABOUT A CEASEFIRE AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE REFERENDUM. MOROCCO OF COURSE REFUSES TO UNDERTAKE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH POLISARIO. OP4 WELCOMES THE EFFORTS OF THE OAU AND THE IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE TO PROMOTE A JUST AND DEFINITIVE SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA. FOLLOWING

.../2

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IN

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

MS
please speak to MENA and check late year resolution and voting.

I guess there will be no action taken this yr. We will hope for something generally acceptable - but Algeria is in a strong pos. PLS do consultation with MENA. Visa may be Monday, but more is promised. CME 23/11

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION: IH
COPY NO. 1

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.UN32384

IN

THE OAU'S ADMISSION OF SADR TO FULL MEMBERSHIP OF THE ORGANISATION THIS PARAGRAPH IS ALSO LIKELY TO CAUSE SOME DIFFICULTIES DESPITE ITS DISINGENOUS WORDING.

5. WE HAVE NOT HAD AN OPPORTJNITY TO DISCUSS THE DRAFT WIDELY WITH OTHER WESTERN DELEGATIONS ALTHOUGH THE INITIAL RESPONSES OF NEW ZEALAND AND PORTUGAL WERE TO RECOMMEND ABSTENTION. SWEDEN WAS BETWEEN AN ABSTENTION AND A VOTE IN FAVOUR. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT ALGERIA MAY MODERATE THE TEXT SOMEWHAT TO ACCOMMODATE WESTERN AND OTHERS' DIFFICULTIES AND TO ISOLATE MOROCCO. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT MOROCCO'S TACTICS WILL BE THIS YEAR AND THERE IS AS YET NO EVIDENCE OF AN ALTERNATIVE MOROCCAN DRAFT DECISION (AS HAS BEEN THE CASE IN PREVIOUS YEARS).

6. WE SHALL ADVISE YOU FURTHER AS THE INTENTIONS OF OTHER DELEGATIONS ARE CLARIFIED AND THE SITUATION REGARDING THE RESOLUTION BECOMES CLEARER.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IH
SAM

OGBAAFA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA	
FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	CN	EX	DPR
ISPP	FAS(IRSAM)	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LC)		MLT
IL	GLI	FAREP-A	FAREP-M	FAREP-P	
FAREP-S					

HONOLULU

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

127 935/28/2

ACTION: IH
COPY NO. 2

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.UN32385 SACA
TOR 14.14 22.11.84

O.UN32385 2200 22.11.84 UNC

TO.
PP CANBERRA/876

RP.
RR PARIS EMB/961 ALGIERS/304 NAIROBI/793

FM. UN NEW YORK / REF O.UN32384

U N C L A S S I F I E D

UNGA 39 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

FROM FILE 103/3/4 415/2

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE ALGERIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION
ON WESTERN SAHARA.

BEGINS :

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
HAVING CONSIDERED IN DEPTH THE QUESTION OF WESTERN
SAHARA

RECALLING THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO SELF DETERMINATION
AND INDEPENDENCE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THE
CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION
1514 (XV) OF 14 DECEMBER 1960 CONTAINING THE DECLARATION ON THE
GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES.

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 38/40 OF 7 DECEMBER 1983 ON THE
QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

HAVING CONSIDERED THE RELEVANT CHAPTER OF THE REPORT OF THE SPECIAL
COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND
PEOPLES,

TAKING NOTE OF THE REPORT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE OF HEADS OF
STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE OAU ON THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA
CONTAINED IN DOCUMENT....

RECALLING RESOLUTION AHC 104 (XIX) ON THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA
ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE AND
GOVERNMENT OR THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AT ITS
NINETEENTH ORDINARY SESSION HELD IN ADDIS - ABABA FROM 6-12 JUNE 1983

1. REAFFIRMS THAT THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA IS A QUESTION OF
DECOLONISATION WHICH REMAINS TO BE COMPLETED ON THE BASIS OF THE

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IN

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.UN32385

IN

EXERCISE BY THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA OF THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE,

2. REAFFIRMS THAT THE SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA LIES ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION AHG 104 (XIX), WHICH ESTABLISH WAYS AND MEANS FOR A JUST AND DEFINITIVE SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT OF WESTERN SAHARA.

3. REQUESTS TO THIS EFFECT, THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT, TO UNDERTAKE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH A VIEW TO BRINGING ABOUT A CEASE FIRE TO CREATE THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR A PEACEFUL AND FAIR REFERENDUM FOR SELF DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA, A REFERENDUM WITHOUT ANY ADMINISTRATIVE OR MILITARY CONSTRAINTS, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OAU AND THE UNITED NATIONS,

4. WELCOMES THE EFFORTS OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE WITH THE VIEW TO PROMOTING A JUST AND DEFINITIVE SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS OF THE OAU AND THE UNITED NATIONS ON THE QUESTION.

5. REAFFIRMS THE DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY WITH A VIEW TO IMPLEMENTING THE RELEVANT DECISIONS OF THE OAU IN PARTICULAR RESOLUTION AHG 104 (XIX),

6. REQUESTS THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES TO CONTINUE TO CONSIDER THE SITUATION IN WESTERN SAHARA AS A MATTER OF PRIORITY AND TO REPORT THEREON TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS FORTIETH SESSION.

7. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY TO KEEP THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, INFORMED ABOUT THE PROGRESS ACCOMPLISHED ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY RELATING TO WESTERN SAHARA.

8. INVITES THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO FOLLOW CLOSELY THE SITUATION IN WESTERN SAHARA WITH A VIEW TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRESENT RESOLUTION AND TO REPORT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS FORTIETH SESSION.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

.../3

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

125
ACTION: IH
COPY NO. 2

INWARD CABLEGRAM

3-0.UN32385

ACTION: IH
SAM

OGBAAFA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA	
FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	CN	EX	DPR
ISPP	FAS(IRSAM)	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LC)		MLT
IL	GLI	FAREP-A	FAREP-M	FAREP-P	
FAREP-S					

HONOLULU

IN
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK
IN

CONFIDENTIAL
FIRST

124
ACTION: IH
COPY NO. 1

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.UN32484 MJDE
TOR 12.38 28.11.84

O.UN32484 2030 27.11.84 CLA FIRST

TO.
PP CANBERRA/972

RP.
RR PARIS EMB/972 ALGIERS/307 NAIROBI/801

FM. UN NEW YORK / REF F.UN126 F.UN1134

TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 39 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

FROM FILE 103/3/4 415/2

MOROCCO HAS NOW SUBMITTED A REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/C4/39/L14/REV.1) WHICH HAS ALREADY ATTRACTED AMENDEMTNS BY ALGERIA AND ITS FRIENDS. COPIES OF L14(REV1) AND THE AMANDMENTS FOLLOW BY FAX.

2. THE REVISED MOROCCAN DRAFT DELETES THE DESPARAGING REFERENCES TO THE AOU AND FOCUSES MORE DIRECTLY ON FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE ISSUE UNDER UNITED NATIONS AUSPICES.

3. THE AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED BY ALGERIA AND ITS FRIENDS WOULD HIJACK THE RESOLUTION AND RETURN THE FOCUS OF NEGOTIATIONS TO THE OAU. IF THE AMENDMENTS ARE PUT TO THE VOTE WE WOULD EXPECT THEM TO BE CARRIED.

4. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES MOROCCO WILL PROBABLY BE FORCED TO WITHDRAW L14 AND POSSIBLY FALL BACK TO AN ANODYNE DECISION AS AT UNGA 37 OR NOT TO RUN ANYTHING AT ALL.

5. AS SET OUT IN O.UN3WRTY WE RECOMMENDED ABSTENTION OF L14. WE WOULD FAVOUR SUPPORTING L14 REV1 BUT IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THIS WILL BE PUSHED TO A VOTE (OR SURVIVE AMENDED). LOHIA IS ANXIOUS TO DISPOSE OF THE ISSUE AND COMPLETE THE FOURTH COMMITTEE'S WORK ON 28 NOVEMBER AND MAY THEREFORE TRY TO PUSH MATTERS TO A VOTE. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WE MAY HAVE TO TAKE QUICK VOTING DECISIONS ON THE BASIS OF ANY GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS YOU ARE ABLE TO GIVE.

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CONFIDENTIAL
FIRST

IN

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

CONFIDENTIAL
FIRST

123
ACTION: IH
COPY NO. 1

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-O.UN32484

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IH

OGBAAFA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA	
FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	CN	EX	DPR
ISPP	FAS(IRSAM)	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LC)		MLT
IL	GLI	FAREP-A	FAREP-M	FAREP-P	
FAREP-S					

HONOLULU

CONFIDENTIAL
FIRST

IN
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK
IN

122

RESTRICTED
FIRST

ACTION: IH
COPY NO. 2

OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

O.CH243851 GSB

OUT

O.CH243851 1055 28.11.84 CLA FIRST

TO.
PP UN NEW YORK/8614

RP.
PP TEHRAN/1234 PARIS EMB/5795 ALGIERS/326
PP NAIROBI/8754

FM. CANBERRA / REF O.UN32456

R E S T R I C T E D

UNGA 39 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : WESTERN SAHARA

THE APPEARANCE OF A MOROCCAN DRAFT RESOLUTION UNDERLINES OUR WISH THAT THE REGIONAL COUNTRIES CONCERNED SHOULD REACH AGREEMENT. WE DO NOT LIKE BEING PLACED IN THE POSITION OF TAKING SIDES. IF APPROPRIATE, EDV SHOULD MAKE THIS POINT.

2. WE WOULD PREFER THAT THE MOROCCAN DRAFT NOT BE BROUGHT TO A VOTE. IT CONTAINS A NUMBER OF UNSATISFACTORY ASPECTS, INCLUDING ITS ATTEMPT TO HAVE THE UNITED NATIONS CRITICISE A DECISION OF THE OAU. IF IT WERE TO COME TO A VOTE, YOU SHOULD ABSTAIN. IN THIS CASE, WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO INCLUDE IN YOUR EDV A FIRM STATEMENT THAT ABSTENTION IN NO WAY IMPLIES ANY RECOGNITION OF SADR.

3. IN THE ABSENCE OF CONSENSUS YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO VOTE FOR L13 BUT WE HOPE THAT ALGERIA SHOWS FLEXIBILITY AND CAN ACCOMMODATE IMPROVEMENTS TO THE TEXT.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

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RESTRICTED
FIRST

OUT

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

121

RESTRICTED
FIRST

ACTION: IH
COPY NO. 2

OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.CH243851

OUT

ACTION: IH
SAM

OGBAAFA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA
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EX	DPR	ISPP	FAS(IRSAM)	FAS(ECO)
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General Assembly

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A/C.4/39/L.14/Rev.1
27 November 1984
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

MOUOC. Revised draft resolution

Question of Western Sahara

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

Considering that it rests with the United Nations to seek a settlement process appropriate to the situation,

Recalling that Morocco gave an undertaking to accept a cease-fire and to abide unreservedly by the results of a peaceful and just referendum under the auspices of the United Nations.

1/ A/39/23 (Part VI), chap. X.

FUN 134/2

A/C.4/19/L.14/Rev.1

English

Page 2

1. Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations:

- (a) To pursue consideration of the question;
- (b) To lend his good offices to the speedy attainment of a cease-fire;
- (c) After the effective establishment of a cease-fire, to propose any measures that might facilitate the organization of a referendum under the auspices of the United Nations;

2. Invites the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session on the question of western Sahara.

Amendements au projet de résolution A/C.4/39/L.14/Rev.1

A. A/C.4/39/L.16 - amendements proposés par le Sao Tome and Principe

1. Ajouter après le 2ème paragraphe du préambule un nouveau paragraphe qui se lit comme suit:

"Réaffirmant que la question du Sahara occidental est une question de décolonisation à parachever sur la base de l'exercice par le peuple du Sahara occidental de son droit inaliénable à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance".

2. Ajouter après le 3ème paragraphe du préambule un nouveau paragraphe qui se lit comme suit:

"Rappelant sa résolution 38/40 du 7 décembre 1983 qui prend note de la résolution AHG/Res.104 adoptée par la 19ème Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine réunie à Addis Abeba du 6 au 12 juin 1983".

B. A/C.4/39/L.17 - amendement proposé par le Burkina Faso

reformuler le paragraphe 4 du préambule de la manière suivante:

"Considérant qu'il revient à l'Organisation des Nations Unies et à l'Organisation de l'unité africaine de mettre en oeuvre le processus de solution de la question du Sahara occidental sur la base de la résolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) contenue dans la résolution 38/40 de l'Assemblée générale".

C. A/C.4/39/L.18 - amendements proposés par Madagascar, l'Algérie, le Mozambique

1. Le "a" doit être reformulé comme suit:

"de continuer à suivre l'évolution de la question".

2. Au premier paragraphe, à la fin du "b", ajouter ce qui suit:

"en favorisant à cet effet l'ouverture de négociations directes entre les deux parties au conflit, le Maroc et le Front Polisario sur la base de la résolution 104".

3. Le "c" doit être reformulé de la manière suivante:

"Après l'ouverture de ces négociations et après l'intervention effective du cessez-le-feu de proposer toute mesure de nature à faciliter sous les auspices des Nations Unies et de l'OUA, l'organisation d'un référendum pacifique et juste sans aucune contrainte administrative ou militaire".

D. A/C.4/39/L.19 - amendement proposé par l'Algérie

Au 5ème paragraphe du préambule, ajouter à la fin après "Nations Unies":

"et de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine".

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FM. NAIROBI / REF O.CH242309

R E S T R I C T E D

SAHARAN ARAB DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

TO FILE 141/7/1 FROM FILE 241/2/5 235/1

START OF SUMMARY

THE SEATING OF POLISARIO IN THE OAU IS NOT NECESSARY A VALID REFLECTION OF A CHANGE IN AFRICAN ATTITUDES. THERE HAS NOT YET BEEN ANY INDICATION THAT THE SEATING OF POLISARIO WILL LEAD QUICKLY TO WIDER RECOGNITION BY INDIVIDUAL STATES.

END OF SUMMARY

WE ARE UNABLE TO ADD MUCH THAT IS USEFUL TO WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN REPORTED ON THE OAU SUMMIT. POLISARIO OBVIOUSLY SAW THE SUMMIT AS A MAKE OR BREAK EXERCISE AND, HAVING COUNTED HEADS, WAS UNWILLING TO COMPROMISE ANY FURTHER. ITS WEAK MILITARY POSITION PROBABLY ALSO TOUGHENED THE FRONT'S STANCE. IN THIS REGARD IT IS PERTINENT TO COMMENT THAT IF, AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED, KING HASSAN PRESSES HIS MILITARY ADVANTAGE AND SUCCEEDS IN DRIVING POLISARIO FROM THE WESTERN SAHARA, THE FRONT WILL BE DEPRIVED OF ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENTS IN ITS CLAIM TO STATEHOOD, NAMELY THAT IT CONTROLS ITS 'NATIONAL' TERRITORY.

2. THERE WERE AT LEAST TWO MAIN REASONS FOR MATTERS COMING TO A HEAD THE WAY THEY DID AT THIS YEAR'S SUMMIT. FIRSTLY SEVERAL STATES, INCLUDING INFLUENTIAL NIGERIA AND SENEGAL, HAD DECIDED THAT MOROCCO WAS SHOWING NO DISPOSITION TO FIND A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT, TO FULFILL THE OAU RESOLUTION ON A REFERENDUM, OR TO, SIT DOWN WITH POLISARIO. NIGERIA OF COURSE WENT FURTHER THAN SENEGAL IN RECOGNISING THE SADR. SECONDLY OTHER MODERATE STATES IN THE OAU, WHO MIGHT IN REALITY OPPOSE THE CONCEPT OF THE SADR BEING SEATED, AT THE SAME TIME FELT THAT ENOUGH TIME HAD BEEN WASTED ON THE ISSUE WITH NO VISIBLE RESULT, WHILE MORE IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES WERE BEING IGNORED. THESE CONSISTED OF BLACK AFRICAN STATES

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WHICH HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY EXASPERATED BY WHAT THEY SEE AS ARAB ISSUES DOMINATING AN AFRICAN BODY. THEY HAVE TAKEN REFUGE IN THE VIEW THAT ALLOWING THE SADR TO BE SEATED DOES NOT SIGNIFY RECOGNITION OF IT AS A STATE. WE ARE NOT ENTIRELY CONVINCED HOWEVER THAT THE TERMS OF THE OAU CONSTITUTION ALLOW THIS INTERPRETATION, ALTHOUGH OF COURSE RECOGNITION OF STATES WOULD NORMALLY BE DONE BY CONSCIOUS OVERT ACTS.

3. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE LIBYA/MOROCCO AGREEMENT ENHANCED MOROCCO'S POSITION WITHIN THE OAU. INDEED IT COULD BE SAID THAT BY ENTERING INTO SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WITH LIBYA, MOROCCO FURTHER DISTANCED ITSELF FROM MODERATE AFRICAN STATES. IN FACT LIBYA ITSELF SHOWED LITTLE DISPOSITION TO SUPPORT MOROCCO AT THE SUMMIT AND REMAINED SEATED THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE ISSUE.

4. THE POLISARIO REPRESENTATIVE IN ADDIS ABAB IS NOT AWARE OF ANY OTHER STATES SINCE NIGERIA RECOGNISING THE SADR. HE CONFIRMED OUR PREVIOUS INFORMATION THAT THE FRONT'S NEXT DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE WILL BE WITH THE NAM SUMMIT NEXT YEAR.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: SAM

JCAA
JADJ

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	PRO	PA	NZ
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R E S T R I C T E D

MOROCCAN VIEW ON THE POLISARIO AND THE OAU MEETING

MOROCCAN AMBASSADOR (ABDELHAFID KADIRI - AN EX MINISTER) SAID THE OAU DECISION TO GIVE A SEAT TO THE POLISARIO AND MOROCCO'S IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO WITHDRAW FROM OAU IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, CHANGED NOTHING AND SOLVED NO PROBLEMS.

2. HE STRESSED MOROCCO'S HISTORY OF AFRICANISM, ITS FOUNDING MEMBER STATUS IN THE OAU AND KING HASSAN'S FAREWELL TO THE OAU 'UNTIL WISER TIMES'. HE DWELLED ON THE 1983 MOROCCAN REQUEST FOR A REFERENDUM WHICH HAD BEEN EVADED, AND THE RIDICULOUS EXAGGERATION OF THE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE INVOLVED WHICH, BY A SPANISH OFFICIAL CENSUS OF 1960'S, HAD BEEN PUT AT 60,000 ODD. HE SAID MOROCCAN SAHARA WAS ENJOYING NEAR PERFECT SECURITY AND AN ECONOMIC BOOM GREATER THAN THE NORTHERN PARTS OF MOROCCO.

3. THE POLISARIO WERE ENTIRELY BASED IN ALGERIA WHENCE THEY MADE PERIODIC RAIDS. THEY OCCUPIED NO TERRITORY AND DEPENDED ENTIRELY ON ALGERIA, WHICH SAW IN CONTROL OF THAT TERRITORY AN OPENING TO THE ATLANTIC AND AN INCREASE IN ITS INFLUENCE OVER THE MAGHREB. IT WAS TO BE EXPECTED THAT THERE WOULD NOW BE FURTHER EFFORTS TO GET OBSERVER STATUS FOR POLISARIO AT THE UN, BUT IT HAD NO ATTRIBUTES OF STATEHOOD. THE OAU HAD ONLY DECIDED TO ALLOW IT A SEAT TO STOP THE PARALYZING WRANGLE WHICH THIS PROBLEM HAD CAUSED. NONE OF THE OAU STATES HAD RECOGNISED POLISARIO AS A STATE AND IT WOULD NOT BE LOGICAL TO DO SO AS IT CONTROLLED NOTHING.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

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DAR ES SALAAM HARARE JEDDAH LAGOS LONDON LUSAKA MOSCOW
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R E S T R I C T E D

NIGERIA : RECOGNITION OF SADR

START OF SUMMARY

ON RETURN FROM OAU MEETING, MAJOR-GENERAL BUHARI SAID THAT NIGERIA HAD RECOGNISED SADR TO SAVE OAU. BUHARI ALSO SAID THAT NIGERIA WOULD NOT FIGHT ON SIDE OF POLISARIO AGAINST MOROCCO., THIS IS DESPITE HEAD OF STATE BUHARI'S REPORTED STATEMENT IN ADDIS ABABA THAT NIGERIA WOULD BE INVOLVED IN ANY JOINT FORCE TO FIGHT WITH SADR IN THE CONFLICT IN WESTERN SAHARA.

END OF SUMMARY

ON HIS RETURN FROM THE OAU MEETING IN ADDIS ABABA, HEAD OF STATE BUHARI SAID THAT NIGERIA HAD RECOGNISED THE SAHARAWI ARABIAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (SADR) TO HELP SAVE THE OAU. HE SAID THAT THE RECOGNITION OF SADR HAD ENABLED THE OAU TO FOCUS ON OTHER URGENT MATTERS SUCH AS DROUGHT AND THE SERIOUS ECONOMIC SITUATIONS IN AFRICA.

2. BUHARI SAID THAT NOTWITHSTANDING ITS RECOGNITION OF SADR, NIGERIA WOULD NOT FIGHT ON THE SIDE OF POLISARIO IN THE CONFLICT WITH MOROCCO. THIS IS A LITTLE AT ODDS WITH BUHARI'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN ADDIS ABABA WHERE HE REPORTEDLY SAID THAT NIGERIA WOULD 'RISE TO BE COUNTED IF THE OAU DECIDED TO SEND A JOINT FORCE TO FIGHT ON THE SIDE OF SADR IN THE WESTERN SAHARA.'

3. THIS CABLE WAS PREPARED BEFORE RECEIVING YOUR O.CH242309. WE ARE SEEKING APPOINTMENTS WITH THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND WILL REPORT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: SAM

JCAA
JAFJ

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FAS(MFS)	SAS	SECOM	FAREP-A	FAREP-M	
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

SADR AND THE OAU

START OF SUMMARY

EGYPT DOES NOT RECOGNISE SADR. IT CONSIDERS THE OAU HAS ITS USES, DESPITE PROBLEMS AS AN ORGANISATION AND DESPITE THE LACK OF CONTENT IN THE CONCEPT OF 'AFRICAN UNITY'. END OF SUMMARY

ON 21 NOVEMBER WE DISCUSSED THE QUESTIONS RAISED IN REFTEL WITH MR SALAH HENDAWI, THE PRINCIPAL PRIVATE SECRETARY TO FOREIGN MINISTER MEGUID AND MR ALI MAHER, PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HENDAWI AND MAHER ACCOMPANIED MEGUID AND BUTROS GHALI TO THE OAU SUMMIT.

2. EGYPT DOES NOT RECOGNISE SADR AND NO CONSIDERATION IS BEING GIVEN TO CHANGING THIS POSITION. EGYPT HAD HAD EXTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH MOROCCO BEFORE THE SUMMIT AND HAD SUGGESTED THAT MOROCCO ANNOUNCE A TIMETABLE FOR HOLDING A REFERENDUM, IN CONFORMITY (MORE OR LESS) WITH THE 19TH SUMMIT RESOLUTION. HOWEVER THE MOROCCANS CHOSE TO IGNORE THIS ADVICE. EGYPT HAD MADE CLEAR THAT IT WOULD NOT BE FOLLOWING MOROCCO OUT THE DOOR AND HAD ALSO PASSED ON ITS ASSESSMENT THAT FEW IF ANY OTHERS WOULD FOLLOW.

3. MORE GENERALLY, HENDAWI AND MAHER REFERRED TO THE POOR STATE OF THE OAU AS AN ORGANISATION AND AS A CONCEPT. ORGANISATIONALLY, THE OAU HAD MORE OR LESS CEASED TO EXIST FOR THE PAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS. THE SECRETARIAT WAS EXPERIENCING DIFFICULT TIMES WITH NO MONEY AND MOUNTING DEBTS. THE INABILITY OF HEADS OF STATE TO AGREE EVEN TO MEET GAVE AN URGENCY TO RESOLVING THE SADR/MOROCCAN ISSUE, WHICH EXPLAINED WHY THE OAU FINALLY BROUGHT THE MATTER TO A HEAD. THERE WAS A STRONG SENSE OF RELIEF THAT THE MATTER HAD BEEN RESOLVED.

4. AS A CONCEPT, AFRICAN UNITY SEEMED MORE REMOTE THAN EVER. IN THE PAST AT LEAST THERE WAS A COMMON RHETORICAL DENUNCIATION OF SOUTH

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AFRICA, BUT THE POSITION OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA MADE THAT FALLBACK LESS CONVINCING. NEVERTHELESS THE OAU HAD ITS USES. IT PROVIDED A CONVENIENT FORUM - FOR INSTANCE THE NILE BASIN COUNTRIES WERE ABLE TO GET TOGETHER UNDER OAU AUSPICES. IT ALSO PROVIDED AN OCCASION FOR POLITICAL DIALOGUE : DR MEGUID HAD HAD A LONG SESSION WITH MENGITSU TO EXPLORE WAYS OF IMPROVING ETHIOPIAN/ SUDANESE/EGYPTIAN RELATIONS. EGYPT HAD ALSO FOUND THAT THE OAU HAD BEEN A USEFUL CONTEXT FOR REDUCING AFRICAN CRITICISM OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS. THE PRESIDENTS OF CONGO AND ANGOLA HAD VISITED CAIRO EN ROUTE TO OR FROM THE OAU SUMMIT AND THEY HAD BOTH MODIFIED THEIR FORMER TOUGH STAND ON THIS ISSUE. ALSO HENDAWI NOTED THAT THERE SOME TECHNICAL BODIES IN THE OAU THAT WERE CAPABLE OF USEFUL WORK.

5. FINALLY HENDAWI SAID THAT THE OAU HAD BEEN A USEFUL FORUM FOR EGYPT IN ITS EFFORTS TO REDUCE GADDAFI'S INFLUENCE. THE COLLECTIVE VIEW OF MOST OAU MEMBERS WAS HOSTILE TO GADDAFI AND CORRESPONDINGLY SUPPORTIVE OF EFFORTS TO CONTAIN HIS ACTIVITIES. THUS THERE WAS A BROAD COMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THE OAU'S APPROACH AND EGYPT'S PREFERRED OUTCOMES. THIS ALSO MADE COOPERATION IN AN OAU CONTEXT USEFUL.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ACTION: SAM

JCAA

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General Assembly

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A/C.4/39/2
25 September 1984
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Request for hearing

Letter dated 23 July 1984 from Mr. Thomas Jallaud, President
of the Association des Amis de la République Arabe Sahraouie
Démocratique, addressed to the Chairman of the Fourth
Committee*

Paris

We have the honour to request you to allow the Association des Amis de la République Arabe Sahraouie Démocratique the opportunity to address the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the question of Western Sahara.

The Association includes a large number of prominent persons of all schools of thought in our country.

Moreover, France has a direct interest in this conflict, because of the close relations it maintains with the States of the Maghreb.

* Distributed in accordance with a decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 2nd meeting, on 24 September 1984.

We believe that our Association is qualified to offer its views on the conflict, thus playing a part in the efforts of the international community to facilitate a negotiated political solution.

(Signed) Thomas JALLAUD
President

UNITED
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25 September 1984
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH~~MS~~Thirty-ninth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Request for hearingAddendumLetter dated 24 September 1984 from Mr. Hakim Ibrahim, Frente Popular
para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO),
addressed to the Chairman of the Fourth Committee*

New York

I have the honour to request you to allow us to contribute to the debate on the question of Western Sahara to be held in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The provisional delegation of the Frente POLISARIO is composed of the following brothers:

Hakim Ibrahim, member of the Political Bureau of the Frente POLISARIO and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic;

* Distributed in accordance with a decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 2nd meeting, on 24 September 1984.

Madjid Abdullah, representative of the Frente POLISARIO in New York;

Ali H. Kentaoui, deputy representative of the Frente POLISARIO in New York.

(Signed) Hakim IBRAHIM

Minister for Foreign Affairs

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

OAU : WESTERN SAHARA

TO FILE 155/1/1 FROM FILE 235/1 241/2/5

OUR ASSESSMENT ON THE WESTERN SAHARA REMAINS AS CONVEYED IN OUR EARLIER REPORTS, THE MOST RECENT IN APRIL 1984 (M.NA7438 REFERS). WITH REFERENCE TO PARA TWO OF REFTEL WE WOULD WISH HOWEVER TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS:

. THE RESOLUTION ON THE WESTERN SAHARA ADOPTED AT THE 19TH OAU SUMMIT REPRESENTED A MAJOR NEW DEVELOPMENT CONCERNING THE DISPUTE WITHIN THE OAU CONTEXT. FOR THE FIRST TIME THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT WERE SPECIFICALLY IDENTIFIED (IE. MOROCCO AND POLISARIO) AND URGED TO ENTER INTO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. IN ADDITION THE RESOLUTION SET OUT A TIME FRAME FOR A REFERENDUM.

. SINCE THE 19TH SUMMIT THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE IF ANY PROGRESS. A MAJORITY OF THE OAU MEMBER COUNTRIES INCLUDING MANY SUPPORTERS OF MOROCCO HAVE HOWEVER GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT THE FAILURE IN HAVING THE RESOLUTION IMPLEMENTED WAS DUE TO MOROCCO'S AND NOT POLISARIO'S UNWILLINGNESS TO COMPLY WITH THE TERMS OF THE RESOLUTION.

. POLISARIO HAS AS A RESULT CONSIDERABLY ENHANCE ITS OWN STANDING WITHIN THE OAU. THE CONTROVERSIAL ADMISSION OF SADR AS THE 51ST MEMBER STATE OF THE OAU IS NOW SUPPORTED BY 31 MEMBER STATES (27 MEMBER STATES ORIGINALLY SUPPORTED THE ADMISSION).

. THE OAU SECRETARIAT HOLDS THE VIEW THAT WHEN THE TIME COMES FOR THE 20TH SUMMIT TO BE HELD MOROCCO WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO MUSTER ENOUGH SUPPORT TO DENY A QUORUM FOR THE SUMMIT. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT AT MOST SEVEN MEMBER COUNTRIES STILL SUPPORT MOROCCO'S STAND AND WOULD PROBABLY WALK OUT AT THE 20TH SUMMIT IN SYMPATHY WITH MORROCO.

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IN

. IT IS THEREFORE UNLIKELY THAT MOROCCO'S WALKOUT, IF IT EVENTUATES, WOULD HAVE A SERIOUS EFFECT ON THE ORGANISATION AS IT COULD HAVE HAD DURING THE TWO MOST RECENT SUMMITS.

. THE OAU SECRETARIAT HAS HAD UNDER PREPARATION SINCE THE 19TH SUMMIT A DETAILED PAPER ON THE LEGALITY OR OTHERWISE OF THE ADMISSION OF SADR. WE UNDERSTAND THE PAPER IS STILL IN DRAFT FORM. HOWEVER IN A RECENT DISCUSSION WITH ONE OF THE WRITERS OF THE PAPER WE WERE TOLD THAT THE CONSENSUS WITHIN THE OAU WAS THAT UNDER THE TERMS OF THE OAU CHARTER THE ADMISSION OF SADR AS THE 51ST MEMBER STATE WAS LEGAL.

. WHILST IT IS TOO EARLY TO COMMENT ON WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN AT THE NEXT SUMMIT CONCERNING WESTERN SAHARA AND IN PARTICULAR ATTENDANCE OF SADR OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT A POLISARIO DELEGATION WOULD NOT BE PARTICIPATING IN THE SUMMIT PROCEEDINGS UNTIL THE WESTERN SAHARA ISSUE, INCLUDING THE RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE 19TH SUMMIT WAS CONSIDERED BY THE HEADS OF STATE/GOVERNMENT. AT THIS STAGE AGAIN THE CONSENSUS SEEMS TO BE THAT UNLESS MOROCCO AGREES TO COMPLY WITH THE RESOLUTION THE SUMMIT COULD REAFFIRM BY EVEN A LARGE MAJORITY THE ADMISSION OF POLISARIO AS THE 51ST MEMBER STATE OF THE OAU AND INVITE ITS DELEGATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROCEEDINGS.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: SAM

JCAA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	PA	
FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	EUR	CN	EX
DPR	ISPP	SDA	DAC	NP	FAS(IRSAM)
IOR	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LC)	IL	FAS(MFS)	
SAS	FAREP-A	FAREP-M	FAREP-P	FAREP-S	

LONDON MOSCOW PEKING PRETORIA WASHINGTON

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

MOROCCO

FROM FILE 226/5/1

FOLLOWING ARE THE MAIN POINTS FROM A REPORT ON THE AMBASSADOR'S
RECENT VISIT TO MOROCCO SENT BY BAG:

- A) MOROCCO IS A COUNTRY RICH IN RESOURCES, BUT IS CURRENTLY
SUFFERING SEVERLY FROM THE COMBINED EFFECTS OF A PROLONGED DROUGHT,
THE WORLD RECESSION AND BASIC STRUCTURAL WEAKNESSES, MOST NOTABLY
HIGH POPULATION GROWTH AND INEQUALITIES OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION. IN
RESPONSE, THE GOVERNMENT HAS ADOPTED A NUMBER OF AUSTERITY MEASURES,
INCLUDING INCREASED PRICES OF BASIC COMMODITIES, WHICH HAVE HAD
POLITICAL EFFECTS.
- B) THE RIOTS IN JANUARY WERE SYMPTOMATIC OF AN IHERENT ECONOMIC,
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MALAISE WHICH RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE OUTLOOK
FOR MOROCCO'S MONARCHICAL SYSTEM.
- C) MOST FOREIGN OBSERVERS SEE NO SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO THE KING IN
THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, THOUGH THEY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT SUDDEN CHANGE IS
ALWAYS A PROSPECT WHEN POWER IS CENTRED SO COMPLETELY IN ONE PERSON.
- D) IF THE KING WERE TO GO, FOR WHATEVER REASON, THE ALTERNATIVES ARE
UNCLEAR, THOUGH THE COUNTRY HAS A SOUND ADMINISTRATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE
WHICH OFFERS A SIGNIFICANT MEASURE OF INSURANCE FOR THE FUTURE.
- E) MOROCCO NOW SEEMS TO HAVE THE MILITARY SITUATION IN THE WESTERN
SAHARA UNDER CONTROL BUT NO DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION IS YET IN SIGHT. IN
SPITE OF EXTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN THE TERRITORY, IT IS NOT
CLEAR THAT MOROCCO HAS SUCCEEDED IN WINNING OVER THE WESTERN SAHARAN
PEOPLE. BUT POPULAR SUPPORT IN MOROCCO FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION
IS VERY STRONG. THERE IS NO SIGN OF MOROCCO MAKING ANY SIGNIFICANT
FURTHER CONCESSIONS TOWARDS THE POLISARIO.
- F) FRANCE IS STILL MOROCCO'S MAJOR PARTNER AND BENEFACTOR, BUT THERE
ARE DIFFICULTIES IN THE RELATIONSHIP, MAINLY OVER AID, IMMIGRATION
AND THE WESTERN SAHARA. RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES HAVE GROWN

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102
INFO: IOR
COPY NO. 1

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CLOSER UNDER PRESIDENT REAGAN, WITH INCREASING U.S. AID FOCUSED
MAINLY ON MILITARY PROGRAMS.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: SAM

JADG

SEC DEPSEC-A
FAS(EANA) EUR
ISPP FAS(IRSAM)
FAREP-A FAREP-M

DEPSEC-B MCO
CN FAS(EPPD)
IOR FAS(ECO)
FAREP-P FAREP-S

PA NZ
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ER

ACCRA ALGIERS AMMAN
LAGOS LONDON TEHRAN

BAGHDAD BEIRUT CAIRO DAMASCUS JEDDAH
TEL AVIV WASHINGTON

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DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

→ 935/28/2 101

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CONFIDENTIAL
UNP

DATE. 27 April 1984

INFORMATION.

Paris Embassy

Algiers

Nairobi

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QUOTE**M.UN** 12357REGISTRY
CODE

TO.

CANBERRA

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TO FILE.

FM.

NEW YORK U.N.

CLASSIFICATION. CONFIDENTIAL

FM. FILE. 103/3/4; 415/2

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SEQUENCE
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806

SUBJECT. UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

The question of Western Sahara has been one of the most contentious issues on the agenda of the Fourth Committee in recent years. The discussion at UNGA 38 was, however, something of an anti climax.

2. At the OAU Summit in Addis Ababa in June 1983 Morocco had accepted resolution AHG/Res.104 XIX which called for direct negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario Front "as the parties to the conflict" on a ceasefire prior to the conduct of a referendum to ascertain the wishes of the people of the territory in relation to their future political status. Morocco subsequently refused to enter into direct negotiations with the Polisario Front on negotiations through the OAU Implementation Committee when this was proposed in September 1983. Having accepted the Addis formula, however, Morocco was hard pressed in the General Assembly to justify its refusal to accept the Polisario Front as one of the parties to the dispute or its failure to agree to enter into discussions with it. Algeria and supporters thus had most of the running on the issue despite strenuous efforts by Morocco including the appearance before the Fourth Committee of a large number of petitioners from pro Saharoui organisations.

3. In his statement to the General Assembly on 27 September 1983 King Hassan reiterated Morocco's willingness to agree to a referendum in the Western Sahara in accordance with the plan agreed at the OAU Summit in Nairobi in 1982. He did not, however,

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this should be recorded with
the item reports already received

CONFIDENTIAL

touch on the question of negotiations with the Polisario Front nor did he make any mention of the Front or of the proceedings of the OAU Summit meeting in Addis in 1983. This was left to the Moroccan Permanent Representative, Boucetta, in the Fourth Committee. Boucetta argued that resolution 104 merely "urged" Morocco and the Polisario Front to enter into negotiations. It did not therefore have binding force. Moreover, from Morocco's point of view, there was no question that the Polisario Front could be accorded any status equivalent to that accorded to a nation state. It was merely a minority organisation composed of dissidents living outside the territory, the majority of the inhabitants of which lived at peace within a constitutional democratic framework. He argued that the ceasefire called for as a precondition in the Nairobi Summit resolution could be implemented without direct negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario Front. He reiterated Morocco's willingness to proceed immediately with a referendum in the territory. Algeria, armed with the Addis resolution, was able to summon up the authority of the OAU in its call to Morocco to enter into negotiations and to agree unconditionally to the implementation of the OAU plan for the territory.

4. The general debate in the Fourth Committee was a very one-sided affair. Morocco had sold the pass in Addis and there were very few countries, including such traditional supporters as Senegal, willing to endorse its position in the General Assembly. On the other hand, there were a large number of African, Non-Aligned and East Europeans speakers in support of the Polisario and Algerian position. In an attempt to undermine the position of its opponents, Morocco arranged for the appearance before the Fourth Committee of a large number of speakers from the various Saharoui pro Moroccan organisations. The Committee also heard representatives of the Polisario Front.

5. Proceeding from its position of tactical advantage, Algeria and its supporters introduced, at an early stage, a draft resolution (A/C4/38/L2) which took note of, and quoted in full, resolution AHG/Res.104 XIX (the Addis Summit resolution). In addition to calling for negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario Front on a ceasefire, the Addis Summit resolution reaffirmed the basic details of the OAU plan for a resolution of the Western Sahara dispute. This included a direction to the

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OAU Implementation Committee to meet to work out the details for the ceasefire and referendum and a request to the United Nations to provide a peace keeping force. The draft resolution L2 also requested the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to ensure the United Nations participated effectively in the organisation and conduct of the referendum in close cooperation with the OAU. After the circulation of L2 Morocco floated informally a proposed draft resolution which gave equal weight to the resolutions of the Nairobi and Addis Summits - the former did not include a reference to direct negotiations between Polisario and Morocco. This received little support. The Algerian resolution appeared to command a great deal of support including from amongst western countries and those which had traditionally supported Morocco's position. On 15 November Equatorial Guinea circulated proposed amendments to the Algerian draft resolution which would have added an additional preambular paragraph taking note of the Nairobi Summit resolution AHG/Res.103 (XXVIII) and the OAU Implementation Committee decisions of August 1981 and 1982. It also sought to remove the text of resolution 104 from the body of L2 and to include it, together with Res.103, as annexes to L2. This action by Equatorial Guinea prompted the submission of a further set of amendments (A/C4/38/L8) by Sao Tome and Principe which would have added a reference to all resolutions on Western Sahara adopted by the heads of state of the OAU, and would have reaffirmed the right of the people of Western Sahara to self determination and independence and the call by the OAU for direct negotiations.

6. Realising that they were caught in a difficult position, the Moroccans eventually agreed to enter into discussions with the Chairman of the Fourth Committee in an attempt to reconcile the differences between the Algerian and Moroccan positions. As a result of these negotiations, a consensus resolution was arrived at which made some genuflection in the direction of Morocco in adding into the original Algerian draft (L2) an additional preambular paragraph which took account of resolution 103 as well as the relevant resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations. The remainder of the resolution was as proposed by Algeria.

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7. This compromise was accepted by Morocco and its supporters and the Fourth Committee was thus, for the first time, able to agree on a consensus resolution on Western Sahara. This reflected very much the weakness of the Moroccan position. Their acceptance of the Addis Summit resolution had cut the grounds from beneath the feet of most of their traditional, particularly African, supporters and they were faced with the prospect of increasing western support for the Algerian draft L2.

8. The Fourth Committee adopted the resolution on Western Sahara on 17 November, 1983 without objection and the General Assembly adopted it on 17 December, 1983.

9. The consideration of the question of Western Sahara at UNGA 39 will be determined by the nature of developments, if any, in the territory and the extent of progress towards the implementation of the OAU plan for a settlement of the dispute.



(L.A. Rowe)
First Secretary

Attachments:

Resolution 38/40 : Question of Western Sahara

RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO DECOLONIZATION (FOURTH COMMITTEE) MATTERS

38/40. Question of Western Sahara

Date: 7 December 1983
Adopted without a vote

Meeting: 86
Report: A/38/612

The General Assembly,

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

Taking account of decision AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) on the question of Western Sahara, adopted unanimously by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighteenth ordinary session in Nairobi, Kenya, from 20 to 27 June 1981, 1/ as well as all the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity, and reaffirming all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Western Sahara,

1. Takes note of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara, adopted unanimously by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held in Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983, 2/ as follows:

"The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its nineteenth ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 12 June 1983,

"Having examined the report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

"Recalling the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II during the 18th Summit to accept the holding of a referendum in the Western Sahara to enable the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

"Recalling with appreciation His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the Sixth Session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I, as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

"Reaffirming its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara, and in particular AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) of 27 June 1981,

"1. Takes note of the reports of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara;

"2. Urges the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary condition for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the OAU and the United Nations and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire;

1/ See A/36/534, annex II.

2/ See A/38/312, annex.

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"3. Directs the Implementation Committee to meet as soon as possible, and in collaboration with the parties to the conflict, to continue to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct of the referendum in December 1983;

"4. Requests the United Nations in conjunction with the OAU to provide a Peace-Keeping Force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the Referendum;

"5. Mandates the Implementation Committee with the participation of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to ensure the proper implementation of this resolution;

"6. Requests the Implementation Committee to report to the 20th Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the result of the Referendum with a view to enabling the 20th Summit to reach a final decision on all aspects of the question of the Western Sahara;

"7. Decides to remain seized with the question of Western Sahara;

"8. Requests the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take account of the proceedings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Ordinary Sessions on the question of Western Sahara and to this end invites the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee;

"9. Welcomes the constructive attitude of the Sahrawi leaders in making it possible for the 19th Summit to meet by withdrawing from it voluntarily and temporarily."

2. Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to ensure that the United Nations participates effectively in the organization and conduct of the referendum and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on this subject and on the measures requiring a decision by the Council;

3. Urges the Secretary-General to co-operate closely with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity with a view to the implementation of the pertinent decisions of the Organization of African Unity and of the present resolution;

4. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session.

935/28/2 95

UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/RES/38/40
23 February 1984

Thirty-eighth session
Agenda item 18

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[on the report of the Fourth Committee (A/38/612)]

38/40. Question of Western Sahara

The General Assembly,

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

Taking account of decision AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) on the question of Western Sahara, 1/ adopted unanimously by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighteenth ordinary session at Nairobi from 24 to 27 June 1981, as well as all the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity, and reaffirming all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Western Sahara,

1. Takes note of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara, 2/ adopted unanimously by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983, as follows:

"The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its nineteenth ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 12 June 1983,

"Having examined the report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

1/ See A/36/534, annex II.

2/ See A/38/312, annex.

"Recalling the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II at the eighteenth ordinary session to accept the holding of a referendum in Western Sahara to enable the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

"Recalling with appreciation His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the sixth session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I, as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

"Reaffirming its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara, and in particular AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) of 27 June 1981,

"1. Takes note of the reports of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara;

"2. Urges the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire;

"3. Directs the Implementation Committee to meet as soon as possible and, in collaboration with the parties to the conflict, to continue to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct of the referendum in December 1983;

"4. Requests the United Nations in conjunction with the Organization of African Unity to provide a peace-keeping force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the referendum;

"5. Mandates the Implementation Committee with the participation of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to ensure the proper implementation of this resolution;

"6. Requests the Implementation Committee to report to the twentieth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the result of the referendum with a view to enabling the Assembly at that session to reach a final decision on all aspects of the question of Western Sahara;

"7. Decides to remain seized with the question of Western Sahara;

"8. Requests the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take account of the proceedings of the eighteenth and nineteenth ordinary sessions on the question of Western Sahara and to this end invites the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee;

"9. Welcomes the constructive attitude of the Sahrawi leaders in making it possible for the nineteenth ordinary session to meet by withdrawing from it voluntarily and temporarily."

2. Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to ensure that the United Nations participates effectively in the organization and conduct of the referendum and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on this subject and on the measures requiring a decision by the Council;

3. Urges the Secretary-General to co-operate closely with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity with a view to the implementation of the pertinent decisions of the Organization of African Unity and of the present resolution;

4. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session.

86th plenary meeting
7 December 1983

The General Assembly

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Taking note of resolution A/Res.103 (XVIII) on the question of Western Sahara, 1/ adopted unanimously by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighteenth ordinary session at Nairobi from 14 to 27 June 1981, as well as all the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity, and reaffirming all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Western Sahara,

1. Takes note of resolution A/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara, 2/ adopted unanimously by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 4 to 13 June 1983, as follows:

"The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its nineteenth ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 4 to 13 June 1983,

"Having examined the report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

1/ See A/36/334, annex II.

2/ See A/38/312, annex.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

~~RESTRICTED~~94
UNP

DATE: 23 December 1983

INFORMATION.

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QUOTE

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NEW YORK U.N.

CLASSIFICATION.

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FM. FILE.

412/1;103/3/4

POST
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220

FA

SUBJECT.

UNGA 38 : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

Attached are extracts from the summary records of the Fourth Committee's consideration of the item on Western Sahara. Unfortunately the complete set of summary records is not available and we have supplemented these with relevant extracts from the relevant press summaries.

2. The Moroccans attempted to seize the high ground during the Fourth Committee's hearings by bringing a large number of petitioners representing various organisations in, and associated with, Western Sahara. The debate however was monopolised by the supporters of Polisario. The details of the resolution adopted were provided in reftels. The Algerians early on seized the initiative by proposing a resolution incorporating OAU Summit resolution AHG Res 104 (XIX) in which Morocco and the Polisario Front as "the parties to the conflict" were urged to undertake direct negotiations to conduct a referendum in the Territory. Morocco had subsequently refused to do this. It was extremely difficult for the Moroccans to argue against the Algerian proposal and in the event the compromise resolution included references to the OAU Summit resolutions 103 (XVIII) which did not refer to the Polisario Front (included at Morocco's insistence) and 104 (XIX). Morocco was in an extremely isolated position in the Committee and their acceptance of the compromise was an acknowledgement of their weakness.

3. A full item report follows separately.

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(Leslie Rowe)
First Secretary

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UNITED
NATIONS



General Assembly

Distr.
LIMITED

A/C.4/38/L.4
14 November 1983

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Thirty-eighth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/38/L.2

Statement submitted by the Secretary-General in accordance with rule 153 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly

1. Under the terms of paragraph 1 of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.4/38/L.2, the General Assembly "would take note of resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara, adopted unanimously by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983".
2. Under the terms of paragraphs 2 and 3 of the draft resolution, the General Assembly would request the Secretary-General "to take the necessary steps to ensure that the United Nations participates effectively in the organization and conduct of the referendum and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on this subject and on the measures requiring a decision by the Council", and would urge the Secretary-General "to co-operate closely with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity with a view to the implementation of the pertinent decisions of the Organization of African Unity and of the present resolution".
3. By paragraphs 4 and 5 of its resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX), the text of which is contained in draft resolution A/C.4/38/L.2, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, inter alia, requested the United Nations, in conjunction with OAU, to provide a peace-keeping force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the referendum; and mandated the Implementation Committee, with the participation of the United

Nations, to take all necessary measures to ensure the proper implementation of this resolution.

4. It will be recalled in that connection that at its first session, held at Nairobi from 24 to 26 August 1981, the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara had adopted a decision which contained, inter alia, the following provision:

"The current OAU Chairman shall consult the United Nations in order to determine the United Nations involvement in the implementation of this decision, including its financing".

5. In his report on the question of Western Sahara (A/38/555), the Secretary-General informed the General Assembly that a United Nations team had gone to Addis Ababa in order to assist the OAU secretariat in preparatory arrangements for, and to be available for consultations at, the third session of the Implementation Committee, which was held on 21 and 22 September 1983.

6. In paragraph 10 of the same report, the Secretary-General stated that he had maintained close contacts with OAU in regard to common efforts for a just and lasting solution to the problem and that, as requested by the General Assembly, he would continue to do everything possible to render the necessary assistance to OAU in the application of the relevant decisions adopted by its Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

7. The Secretary-General is not in a position at this time to prepare estimates of the expenditures arising from the requests contained in the draft resolution. Accordingly, the Secretary-General intends, as appropriate, to submit estimates to the General Assembly at a later date or, subject to the prior concurrence of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to incur such expenditures as may be necessary and appropriate under the terms of the resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenses for the biennium 1984-1985 to be adopted by the Assembly at the current session.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
FACSIMILE MESSAGE

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935/28/2

Precedence: PP

F. UN 178

Date / Time of Lodgement:

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UNCLASSIFIED

TO CANBERRA

FM UN NEW YORK

Information:

FM FILE 412/1, 103/3/4 TO FILE

REF. NO. OF PAGES 6

Subject Heading or Summary of Text: UNGA 38: FOURTH COMMITTEE: ITEM 18 - WESTERN SAHARA

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE ALGERIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION
ON WESTERN SAHARA, THE LETTER FROM THE OAU CHAIRMAN TO MEMBER
STATES ON THE BREAKDOWN OF THE WORK OF THE IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE
AND EXPLANATORY NOTES CIRCULATED BY MOROCCO.

2. CANBERRA PLEASE REPEAT AS REQUIRED.

Mc

Kc - per despatch
with GKM

Order L. ROWE	Signature & Date	Dept/Section	Phone No.	No. of copies to be returned to sender
	<i>[Signature]</i>			

(NON-OFFICIAL TRANSLATION)

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

The General Assembly,

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling further its resolution 37/28 and its decision 37/411 of 23 November 1982 on the question of Western Sahara,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling its resolution 37/15 of 18 November 1982 on co-operation between the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity,

Welcoming the efforts of the Organisation of African Unity with a view to promoting a just and definitive solution to the question of Western Sahara,

1. Endorses the resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara adopted unanimously by the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity during their nineteenth Summit Conference held in Addis-Abeba from 6 to 12 June 1983;

2. Urges, in this context, following the example of the Organisation of African Unity, the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary condition for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the OUA and the United Nations and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire;

3. Welcomes the spirit which presided over the adoption of this resolution;

4. Remains convinced that the immediate and complete implementation of the said resolution, will open the way for a just and definitive settlement of the question of Western Sahara;

5. Congratulates the acting Chairman and the implementation Committee of the OAU for all the efforts which they did not cease to deploy for the complete implementation of the resolution of the nineteenth Summit of the OAU relating to the question of Western Sahara;

6. Reaffirms the determination of the United Nations to co-operate fully with the Organisation of African Unity for the Organisation of the referendum on self-determination in conformity with paragraph 2 of this resolution;

7. Requests, to that end, the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to ensure that the United Nations participates effectively in the organisation and conduct of the referendum and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on this subject and on the measures requiring a decision by the Council;

8. Urges the Secretary-General to co-operate closely with the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity with a view to the implementation of the pertinent decisions of the Organisation of African Unity and of the present resolution;

9. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session.

89
F UN 178/3

Letter sent by OAU chairman to
all OAU member states - late September 1982.

Your Excellency and dear Brother,

As you may recall, the 49th Summit of the OAU had adopted Res. AHG/104(XIX) on the question of Western Sahara which, inter alia, urged the Kingdom of Morocco and the Polisario Front to enter into direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a ceasefire to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum.

Subsequently, I undertook a series of consultations with the parties to the conflict as well as with other African leaders whom I felt would facilitate the task of implementing the above mentioned resolution. Having discovered during the course of the consultations that Morocco would not agree to hold direct bilateral negotiations with the Polisario Front, I suggested an alternative approach which, I felt, would accommodate the concerns of the parties while preserving the spirit of the resolution. This proposal involved the presence, in the same room and at the same table, of Morocco and the Polisario Front with the members of the Implementation Committee for the purpose of conducting their negotiations not directly but through the Chairman with the members of the Committee assisting whenever necessary.

Based on the positive indications received as to the acceptability of this formula by the two parties,

F. LNO 178/4

(2)

I proceeded to convene the meeting of the Committee in Addis Ababa from 21 - 23 September 1983.

At the first sitting of the Committee I formally proposed the formula and the Committee endorsed it unanimously. Subsequently, repeated efforts were made by the Committee through the Chairman to secure the agreements of Morocco and the Polisario Front to co-operate with the Committee on the basis of the said formula.

The Polisario Front accepted the proposal but Morocco declined to do so. Under the circumstances, the Committee was unable to proceed any further and the meeting had to be adjourned indefinitely.

In view of the gravity of the matter and its receiving your wise counsel as to the future course of action in our joint search for an effective means of implementing the resolution of the 19th Summit on Western Sahara.

Please accept, Excellency and dear Brother, the assurances of my highest consideration and esteem.

Mengistu Haile-Mariam,
Chairman of the Provisional
Military Administrative Council
and of the Commission for
Organizing the Party of the
Working People of Ethiopia and
Commander-in-Chief of the
Revolutionary Armed Forces of
Socialist Ethiopia. Current

F. UN 178/5

The fourth commission is examining during the present session the question known as the Western Sahara. Morocco's position in this matter has been clearly explained by his Majesty King Hassan II in his address to the General Assembly on the 27th of September 1983. His Majesty Hassan II had indeed solemnly declared,

"Morocco says and solemnly declared to the General Assembly that it wants the referendum. Morocco is ready for the referendum to take place tomorrow if you wish it. Morocco is ready to grant all facilities to any observers wherever they may come from, so there may be a cease-fire and a just, equitable and true consultation. "

Moreover, it is important to emphasize what follows: During the 18th summit of the OAU in June 1981, Morocco had proposed through its sovereign the organization of a referendum in Western Sahara, with the view of putting an end to the tension prevailing in the North - Western region of Africa.

This Royal initiative, taken notwithstanding the deep conviction of Morocco in the legitimacy of its cause, was greeted with great satisfaction by the international community and by the OAU.

Ever since, Morocco has continued to cooperate fully with the Implementation Committee set up by the 18th OAU summit, with a view to a speedy implementation of the resolutions and decisions taken by the summit and by the Committee. One recalls that this committee held two meetings in Nairobi in August 1981 and in February 1982, in order to initiate the process of the settlement.

During these two meetings the modalities of the cease-fire, the organisation and the conduct of the referendum were laid down in detail. These modalities have been endorsed by the OAU and accepted by Morocco.

In adhering to the decisions of the Implementation Committee, Morocco has demonstrated its willingness to cooperate fully with the Committee in a bid for finding a peaceful and speedy solution. In adopting this line of action, Morocco wanted to prove in particular that the referendum will be one of a genuine self-determination. Morocco has also accepted the idea that the conduct of the referendum should be entrusted to the Implementation Committee in collaboration with the United Nations. The process which was adopted by the OAU

F. UN 178/6

foresees the setting up of an interim administration in the Sahara in order to look after the referendum and to confine the troops to their bases.

As regards the resolution adopted by the 19th summit of the OAU, held in Addi Ababa from the 6th to the 12th of June 1983, Morocco believes, along with many other members of the Implementation Committee, that this resolution is composed of two different parts:

The first part reaffirms the resolutions and decisions of Nairobi, taken by the 18th OAU summit and by the Implementation Committee. The mandate of the Implementation Committee was reaffirmed and renewed, and it was invited in very clear terms to continue its mission.

The second part contains an "urging" or "encouragement" to what is termed the parties to the conflict "to undertake negotiations with a view of bringing about a cease-fire."

It is quite apparent that this "urging", which is not addressed to the Committee but to the parties, is a simple expression of a political wish, without any link, what so ever, with the mandate of the Implementation Committee. It should be recalled that the Implementation Committee is endowed with full powers to find a solution to the problem as a whole.

The fact that this "urging" was not widely accepted, does not mean that this constitutes an obstacle for the Committee to continue its work, and to search for peace by all means.

In any case, Morocco reaffirms its willingness to continue to cooperate fully with the Implementation Committee, for the implementation of all the pertinent resolutions and decisions of the OAU on this question. This includes the resolution of the 19th OAU summit in all that it has to do with the mandate of the Implementation Committee in order to establish, by all practical ways and means under its disposal, a cease-fire and to organize a general, free and regular referendum in the territory as soon as possible.

935/28/285

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FACSIMILE MESSAGE

Precedence: PP

F. UN 178

Date / Time of Lodgement:

CSN 204

UNCLASSIFIED

TO CANBERRA

FM UN NEW YORK

Information:

FM FILE 412/1, 103/3/4 TO FILE


REF. NO. OF PAGES 6

Subject Heading or Summary of Text: UNGA 38: FOURTH COMMITTEE: ITEM 18 - WESTERN SAHARA

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE ALGERIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION
ON WESTERN SAHARA, THE LETTER FROM THE OAU CHAIRMAN TO MEMBER
STATES ON THE BREAKDOWN OF THE WORK OF THE IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE
AND EXPLANATORY NOTES CIRCULATED BY MOROCCO.

2. CANBERRA PLEASE REPEAT AS REQUIRED.

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are we for?

Sender L. ROWE	Signature & Date 	Dept/Section	Phone No.	No. of copies to be returned to sender
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(NON-OFFICIAL TRANSLATION)

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

The General Assembly,

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling further its resolution 37/28 and its decision 37/477 of 23 November 1982 on the question of Western Sahara,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling its resolution 37/15 of 16 November 1982 on co-operation between the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity,

Welcoming the efforts of the Organisation of African Unity with a view to promoting a just and definitive solution to the question of Western Sahara,

1. Endorses the resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara adopted unanimously by the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity during their nineteenth Summit Conference held in Addis-Abeba from 6 to 12 June 1983;

2. Urges, in this context, following the example of the Organisation of African Unity, the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary condition for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the OUA and the United Nations and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire;

3. Welcomes the spirit which presided over the adoption of this resolution;

4. Remains convinced that the immediate and complete implementation of the said resolution, will open the way for a just and definitive settlement of the question of Western Sahara;

5. Congratulates the acting Chairman and the implementation Committee of the OAU for all the efforts which they did not cease to deploy for the complete implementation of the resolution of the nineteenth Summit of the OAU relating to the question of Western Sahara;

6. Reaffirms the determination of the United Nations to co-operate fully with the Organisation of African Unity for the Organisation of the referendum on self-determination in conformity with paragraph 2 of this resolution;

7. Requests, to that end, the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to ensure that the United Nations participates effectively in the organisation and conduct of the referendum and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on this subject and on the measures requiring a decision by the Council;

8. Urges the Secretary-General to co-operate closely with the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity with a view to the implementation of the pertinent decisions of the Organisation of African Unity and of the present resolution;

9. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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CLASSIFICATION.

UNCLASSIFIED

FM FILE.

935/28/2

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SUBJECT.

FOURTH COMMITTEE - WESTERN SAHARA

....

We have received the attached request from Mr Curtis and would be grateful if you could send the relevant documents to Paris.

Francesca M. Beddie

(Francesca M. Beddie)
UN Political Section

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FACSIMILE MESSAGE

~~MR Eitan .81~~
935/28/v

Precedence:

PP

Date / Time of Lodgement:

14/11/83 2005

F. 296

CSN 223

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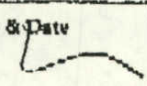
REF.

NO. OF PAGES 5

Subject Heading or Summary of Text:

UN4A 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE
ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAMARA

Following ARE TEXTS of A/C4/38/27
AND A/C4/38/28

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General Assembly

Distr.
LIMITED

A/C.4/38/L.7
15 November 1983
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-eighth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Question of Western Sahara

Equatorial Guinea: amendments to draft resolution A/C.4/38/L.2

1. After the first preambular paragraph, insert the following new paragraph:

"Taking note of decision AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) on the question, adopted unanimously by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighteenth ordinary session in Nairobi, Kenya, from 20 to 27 June 1982, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution, as well as the decisions of the Implementation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, adopted in Nairobi in August 1981 and February 1982,"

2. In operative paragraph 1, replace the phrase "as follows" by the phrase "the text of which is annexed to the present resolution."

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FON 29/12

ANNEX

A. Decision AHG/Res.103 (XVIII), adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighteenth ordinary session

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting at its eighteenth ordinary session in Nairobi, Kenya, from 24 to 27 June 1981,

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General on Western Sahara (document AHG/103 (XVIII) A) and the reports of the fifth and sixth sessions of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara (documents AHG/103 (XVIII) B and AHG/101 (XVIII) C), respectively,

Having heard the statements made by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco, the heads of State of Mauritania and Algeria as well as those made by various heads of State and Government and leaders of delegations,

Noting with appreciation the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco to accept the holding of a referendum in Western Sahara to enable the people of that Territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

Noting further with appreciation His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the sixth session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I, as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

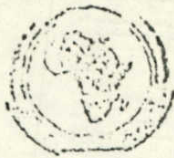
Recalling its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara,

1. Adopts the reports of the Secretary-General on Western Sahara and those of the fifth and sixth sessions of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara and endorses the recommendations contained therein (document AHG/Res.103 (XVIII)) and congratulates the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara for the commendable work done in finding a peaceful solution to the problem of Western Sahara;

2. Welcomes the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco for accepting the organization of a referendum in the territory of Western Sahara;

3. Decides to set up an Implementation Committee composed of Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Tanzania to ensure, with the co-operation of the concerned parties and with full power, the implementation of the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee;

/...



(A)

935/28/2

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ORGANIZATION OF
AFRICAN UNITY
Secretariat
P. O. Box 3243

منظمة الوحدة الأفريقية
السكرتارية
Addis Ababa

ORGANIZATION DE L'UNITÉ
AFRICAINNE
Secretariat
B. P. 3243

Addis Ababa

AHG/Res.104 (XIX)

ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND
GOVERNMENT
NINETEENTH ORDINARY SESSION
ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA
6-11 JUNE, 1983.

RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA

RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Nineteenth Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 11 June, 1983,

Having examined the Report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

Recalling the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II during the 18th Summit to accept the holding of a referendum in the Western Sahara to enable the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

Recalling with appreciation, His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the Recommendation of the Sixth Session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B Annex 1 as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

Reaffirming its previous Resolutions and Decisions on the question of Western Sahara, and in particular AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) of 27 June, 1981,

1. TAKES NOTE of the Reports of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara.

2. URGES the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a ceasefire to create the necessary condition for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the OAU and the UN and CALLS on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the ceasefire.

3. DIRECTS the Implementation Committee to meet as soon as possible, and in collaboration with the parties to the conflict should continue to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct of the referendum in December, 1983.
4. REQUESTS the United Nations in conjunction with the OAU to provide a Peace-Keeping Force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the Referendum.
5. MANDATES the Implementation Committee with the participation of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to ensure the proper implementation of this resolution.
6. REQUESTS the Implementation Committee to report to the 20th Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the result of the Referendum with a view to enabling the 20th Summit to reach a final decision on all aspects of the question of the Western Sahara.
7. DECIDES to remain seized with the question of Western Sahara.
8. REQUESTS the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take account of the proceedings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Ordinary Sessions on the question of Western Sahara and to this end INVITES the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee.
9. WELCOMES the constructive attitude of the Saharawi leaders in making it possible for the 19th Summit to meet by withdrawing from it voluntarily and temporarily.

F UN 178/3

Letter sent by OAU chairman to
all OAU member states - late September 1982.

Your Excellency and dear Brother,

As you may recall, the 49th Summit of the OAU had adopted Res. AHG/104(XIX) on the question of Western Sahara which, inter alia, urged the Kingdom of Morocco and the Polisario Front to enter into direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a ceasefire to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum.

Subsequently, I undertook a series of consultations with the parties to the conflict as well as with other African leaders whom I felt would facilitate the task of implementing the above mentioned resolution. Having discovered during the course of the consultations that Morocco would not agree to hold direct bilateral negotiations with the Polisario Front, I suggested an alternative approach which, I felt, would accommodate the concerns of the parties while preserving the spirit of the resolution. This proposal involved the presence, in the same room and at the same table, of Morocco and the Polisario Front with the members of the Implementation Committee for the purpose of conducting their negotiations not directly but through the Chairman with the members of the Committee assisting whenever necessary.

Based on the positive indications received as to the acceptability of this formula by the two parties,

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F. UN 178/4

(2)

I proceeded to convene the meeting of the Committee in Addis Ababa from 21 - 23 September 1983.

At the first sitting of the Committee I formally proposed the formula and the Committee endorsed it unanimously. Subsequently, repeated efforts were made by the Committee through the Chairman to secure the agreements of Morocco and the Polisario Front to co-operate with the Committee on the basis of the said formula.

The Polisario Front accepted the proposal but Morocco declined to do so. Under the circumstances, the Committee was unable to proceed any further and the meeting had to be adjourned indefinitely.

In view of the gravity of the matter and its receiving your wise counsel as to the future course of action in our joint search for an effective means of implementing the resolution of the 19th Summit on Western Sahara.

Please accept, Excellency and dear Brother, the assurances of my highest consideration and esteem.

Mengistu Haile-Mariam,
Chairman of the Provisional
Military Administrative Council
and of the Commission for
Organizing the Party of the
Working People of Ethiopia and
Commander-in-Chief of the
Revolutionary Armed Forces of
Socialist Ethiopia. Current

74

F. UN 178/5

Explaining Notes Circulated by Morocco.

The fourth commission is examining during the present session the question known as the Western Sahara. Morocco's position in this matter has been clearly explained by his Majesty King Hassan II in his address to the General Assembly on the 27th of September 1983. His Majesty Hassan II had indeed solemnly declared,

"Morocco says and solemnly declared to the General Assembly that it wants the referendum. Morocco is ready for the referendum to take place tomorrow if you wish it. Morocco is ready to grant all facilities to any observers wherever they may come from, so there may be a cease-fire and a just, equitable and true consultation. "

Moreover, it is important to emphasize what follows: During the 18th summit of the OAU in June 1981, Morocco had proposed through its sovereign the organization of a referendum in Western Sahara, with the view of putting an end to the tension prevailing in the North - Western region of Africa.

This Royal initiative, taken notwithstanding the deep conviction of Morocco in the legitimacy of its cause, was greeted with great satisfaction by the international community and by the OAU.

Ever since, Morocco has continued to cooperate fully with the Implementation Committee set up by the 18th OAU summit, with a view to a speedy implementation of the resolutions and decisions taken by the summit and by the Committee. One recalls that this committee held two meetings in Nairobi in August 1981 and in February 1982, in order to initiate the process of the settlement.

During these two meetings the modalities of the cease-fire, the organisation and the conduct of the referendum were laid down in detail. These modalities have been endorsed by the OAU and accepted by Morocco.

In adhering to the decisions of the Implementation Committee, Morocco has demonstrated its willingness to cooperate fully with the Committee in a bid for finding a peaceful and speedy solution. In adopting this line of action, Morocco wanted to prove in particular that the referendum will be one of a genuine self-determination. Morocco has also accepted the idea that the conduct of the referendum should be entrusted to the Implementation Committee in collaboration with the United Nations. The process which was adopted by the OAU

forces the setting up of an interim administration in the Sahara in order to look after the referendum and to confine the troops to their bases.

As regards the resolution adopted by the 19th summit of the OAU, held in Addi Ababa from the 6th to the 12th of June 1983, Morocco believes, along with many other members of the Implementation Committee, that this resolution is composed of two different parts:

The first part reaffirms the resolutions and decisions of Nairobi, taken by the 18th OAU summit and by the Implementation Committee. The mandate of the Implementation Committee was reaffirmed and renewed, and it was invited in very clear terms to continue its mission.

The second part contains an "urging" or "encouragement" to what is termed the parties to the conflict "to undertake negotiations with a view of bringing about a cease-fire."

It is quite apparent that this "urging", which is not addressed to the Committee but to the parties, is a simple expression of a political wish, without any link, what so ever, with the mandate of the Implementation Committee. It should be recalled that the Implementation Committee is endowed with full powers to find a solution to the problem as a whole.

The fact that this "urging" was not widely accepted, does not mean that this constitutes an obstacle for the Committee to continue its work, and to search for peace by all means.

In any case, Morocco reaffirms its willingness to continue to cooperate fully with the Implementation Committee, for the implementation of all the pertinent resolutions and decisions of the OAU on this question. This includes the resolution of the 19th OAU summit in all that it has to do with the mandate of the Implementation Committee in order to establish, by all practical ways and means under its disposal, a cease-fire and to organize a general, free and regular referendum in the territory as soon as possible.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FACSIMILE MESSAGE

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Precedence:

F. UN 24

Date / Time of Lodgement: 4/11/83

CSN 235

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REF. O.UN 24735

NO. OF PAGES

Subject Heading or Summary of Text:

UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

FOLLOWING ARE THE TEXTS OF THE REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA CIRCULATED BY ALGERIA AND THE DRAFT DECISION CIRCULATED BY MOROCCO.

RCWE 4/11/83

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71
FON 20011

The General Assembly,

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

I- Takes note of the resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara adopted unanimously by the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity during their nineteenth Summit Conference held in Addis Abeba from 6 to 12 June 1983 which reads as follows:

"The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its Nineteenth Ordinary Session in Addis Abeba, Ethiopia, from 6 to 12 June 1983,

Having examined the report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

Recalling the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II during the 10th Summit to accept the holding of a referendum in the Western Sahara to enable the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

Recalling with appreciation, His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the Sixth Session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

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Fur 20/2

Reaffirming its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara, and in particular AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) of 27 June 1981,

1. Takes note of the reports of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara ;
2. Urges the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Polisario Front, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary condition for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the OAU and the United Nations and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire ;
3. Directs the Implementation Committee to meet as soon as possible, and in collaboration with the parties to the conflict, should continue to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct of the referendum in December 1983 ;
4. Requests the United Nations in conjunction with the OAU to provide a Peace-Keeping Force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the referendum ;
5. Mandates the Implementation Committee with the participation of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to ensure the proper implementation of this resolution ;
6. Requests the Implementation Committee to report to the 20th Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the result of the Referendum with a view to enabling the 20th Summit to reach a final decision on all aspects of the question of the Western Sahara ;
7. Decides to remain seized with the question of Western Sahara ;
8. Requests the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take account of the proceedings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Ordinary Sessions on the question of Western Sahara and to this end invites the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee ;

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Fur 2013

9. Welcomes the constructive attitude of the Saharawi leaders in making it possible for the 19th Summit to meet by withdrawing from it voluntarily and temporarily.

II- Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to ensure that the United Nations participates effectively in the organization and conduct of the referendum and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on this subject and on the measures requiring a decision by the Council ;

III- Urges the Secretary-General to co-operate closely with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity with a view to the implementation of the pertinent decisions of the Organization of African Unity and of the present resolution ;

IV- Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth Session.

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F-208/4

DRAFT DECISION

The General Assembly, recalling its unanimous decisions n° 36/406 of 24 November 1981 and 37/411 of 23 November 1982, takes note of the efforts of the OAU and its Implementation Committee with a view of reaching a lasting and just solution to the question of Western Sahara, and welcomes the statement made before the General Assembly on 27 September 1983, by which His Majesty King HASSAN II confirmed Morocco's commitment for the organisation of a referendum in Western Sahara, and abiding by its result. It affirms the support of the United Nations to the OAU and to its Implementation Committee for the establishment of a cease-fire and the organisation of a just and peaceful referendum of self-determination in Western Sahara, in conformity with the resolution ARG/Res. 103 (XVIII) and ARG/Res. 104 (XIX) of the 18th and 19th Assemblies of Heads of state and government of the OAU held respectively in Nairobi from 24 to 27 January 1981 and in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) from 6 to 12 June 1983, and with the decisions of the Implementation Committee adopted in Nairobi. To this end the General Assembly requests the Secretary General of the United Nations, to give assistance in consultations and co-operation with the OAU, to the Implementation Committee, in the discharge of its mandate relating to the question of Western Sahara, arising from the above mentioned resolutions and decisions, and to report there on to the General Assembly and the Security Council as appropriate.

FEND.

935/28/2 ~~FB~~

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U N C L A S S I F I E D

UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

AFTER MUCH JUDICIOUS ARM TWISTING THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (TREIKI) WAS ABLE TO BRING THE PROPONENTS OF THE RIVAL DRAFTS ON WESTERN SAHARA TO ACCEPT A CONSENSUS TEXT BASED ON RESOLUTION L.2 BUT INCLUDING REFERENCE TO THE NAIROBI SUMMIT RESOLUTION, RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS OF THE OAU AND OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE CHAIRMAN PUT FORWARD THE REVISED TEXT AS A CHAIRMAN'S DRAFT WHICH WAS ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS ON 17 NOVEMBER.

2. IN EXPLANATION OF VOTE MOROCCO EXPRESSED ITS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE REFERENCES TO NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IO

OGBAAFA

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

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INFO: FAS(IRSAM)
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FM. UN NEW YORK / REF O.CH152440

U N C L A S S I F I E D

UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

AFTER MUCH JUDICIOUS ARM TWISTING THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (TREIKI) WAS ABLE TO BRING THE PROPONENTS OF THE RIVAL DRAFTS ON WESTERN SAHARA TO ACCEPT A CONSENSUS TEXT BASED ON RESOLUTION L.2 BUT INCLUDING REFERENCE TO THE NAIROBI SUMMIT RESOLUTION, RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS OF THE OAU AND OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE CHAIRMAN PUT FORWARD THE REVISED TEXT AS A CHAIRMAN'S DRAFT WHICH WAS ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS ON 17 NOVEMBER.

2. IN EXPLANATION OF VOTE MOROCCO EXPRESSED ITS RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE REFERENCES TO NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IO

OGBAAFA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	MCO	PA
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Ministerial Submission

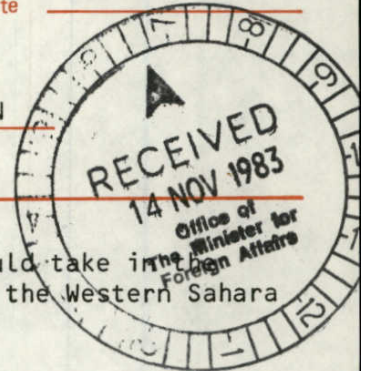
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INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS, REFUGEES, SOUTH ASIA,
Division/Division Head AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST/R.J. GREET
Action UN POLITICAL SECTION/M. STOYICH

File No. 935/2812
Date 14 NOV 1983

SUBJECT - WESTERN SAHARA: ALGERIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION



PURPOSE

To seek your decision on the position Australia should take in the General Assembly on an Algerian draft resolution on the Western Sahara question.

ISSUES

The issue of the status of Western Sahara has been divisive in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) for some years, with a contest for international support between Morocco, which maintains that Western Sahara is a part of Moroccan territory, and Algeria, which supports the Polisario Front in its claims to be "the sole and authentic representative" of the people of Western Sahara. The OAU has sought to bring about negotiations between Morocco and Polisario, but has found it difficult to get Morocco to join such a process.

In 1981 King Hassan II of Morocco agreed to accept the organisation of a referendum in the Western Sahara. The OAU set up an Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of a ceasefire and to conduct the referendum. Morocco however has refused to recognise Polisario as the other party to the dispute to negotiate a ceasefire.

At the 19th Summit of the OAU at Addis Ababa in June this year, an OAU resolution (attached at A) called for Morocco and the Polisario Front to enter into negotiations aimed at bringing about a ceasefire, so that a referendum for self-determination could take place in December 1983. This resolution, which was explicit in its identification of Morocco and the Polisario as "parties to the conflict", was accepted by all OAU members, including Morocco. However, according to a letter circulated by the OAU Chairman (copy attached at B), Morocco has refused to negotiate with the Polisario to arrange a ceasefire under which a referendum could be held.

The United Nations has considered the question of Western Sahara as a non-self-governing territory for a number of years. It has advocated in successive resolutions of the General Assembly the right of the people of Western Sahara to an act of self-determination. These resolutions have recognised Polisario as a party principal in such an act.

Australia has generally supported Algerian resolutions on this question, with the exception of UNGA 36 in 1981 when we abstained because the Algerian resolution cut across the then efforts of the OAU Implementation Committee to encourage a solution on Western Sahara acceptable to all parties. (We have generally been more disposed to vote in favour than some West Europeans who have tended to abstain, largely no doubt because of their close relations with Morocco).

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XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Mr Poff
D. Cogan

These votes reflect our support for self-determination for the people of Western Sahara, achieved through a negotiated settlement under the OAU. When there has been a separate Moroccan resolution, we have also tried to support their texts calling for a peaceful solution to the problem.

. The attached draft resolution on Western Sahara (at C) is being circulated by the Algerian delegation and is likely to be adopted in the General Assembly by a comfortable majority. (We understand that countries likely to vote in favour include the Nordics, Austria and possibly Canada, while Britain, FRG and the Netherlands are likely to abstain. Australia has voted in favour of Algerian resolutions in similar WEOG company in the past). The draft resolution repeats in its entirety the OAU resolution calling on Morocco and Polisario to negotiate, and is moderate in tone. Its main elements are:

Part I - takes note of the OAU resolution, which:

- urges Morocco and the Polisario Front to undertake direct negotiations for a ceasefire to allow the organisation of a referendum for self-determination under the auspices of the OAU and the UN
- asks the UN with the OAU to provide a peacekeeping force to ensure peace and security during the referendum.

Part II - asks the Secretary-General to ensure that the UN participates in the organisation and conduct of the referendum and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on this subject and on measures for decision by the Council (e.g. the proposal for a peacekeeping force).

Part III - asks the Secretary-General to co-operate with the OAU with a view to implementing the pertinent decisions of the OAU and the resolution.

. Although the resolution contains a request for the United Nations to provide a peacekeeping force, this call is in the OAU resolution, and is taken note of in Operative paragraph 1 of the Algerian resolution. The Security Council's prerogatives are observed, in that Part II of the resolution requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on measures requiring a decision of the Council.

. For Australia to vote in favour would be consistent with our support for self-determination in the Western Sahara and for the efforts of the OAU to bring about a solution to the problem.

. Morocco has also circulated, also at C, a draft decision (not a resolution) which takes note of the efforts of the OAU Implementation Committee and welcomes Morocco's support for a referendum. It should be acceptable to Australia. The Moroccan draft avoids any explicit reference to negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario Front, although it contains a reference to the

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-3-

OAU resolution. It is unlikely that Algeria and its supporters will allow it to proceed without putting forward an amendment calling for direct negotiations. In such an event Morocco may withdraw its decision rather than vote on a text which it considered contained unacceptable elements.

RECOMMENDATION

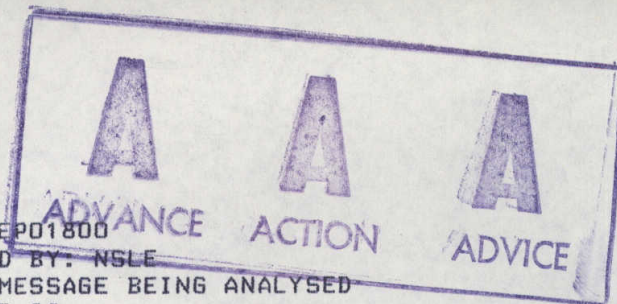
That we support the Algerian resolution in a vote in the General Assembly and also the Moroccan decision, if it is put forward and put to the vote in its present form.

*approved
BJS
14/11*

U. Greer

(R.J. Greer)
A/First Assistant Secretary
International Organisations, Refugees,
South Asia, Africa and Middle East Division

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R E S T R I C T E D

UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA
FROM FILE 103/3/4 405/1

EQUATORIAL GUINEA (ON BEHALF OF MOROCCO) HAS SUBMITTED AMENDMENTS TO THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION A/C.4/38/L.2. THESE ARE CONTAINED IN A/C:4/38/L.7.

2. AS EXPECTED THE MOROCCAN/EQUATORIAL GUINEA AMENDMENTS CALL FOR THE INSERTION OF AN ADDITIONAL PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE NAIROBI SUMMIT RESOLUTION AND DECISIONS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE AND THE INCLUSION OF THE TEXTS OF THE NAIROBI AND ADDIS RESOLUTIONS AS ANNEXES TO L2.

3. SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE (ON BEHALF OF ALGERIA) HAS COUNTERED BY PROPOSING AMENDMENTS TO THOSE OF EQUATORIAL GUINEA. THESE ARE CONTAINED IN A/C.4/38/L.8. THE EFFECT OF THESE IS TO EMASCULATE EQUATORIAL GUINEA'S AMENDMENTS AND TO RESTORE LANGUAGE REAFFIRMING THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE AND URGING MOROCCO AND POLISARIO TO ENTER INTO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WERE IN THE ORIGINAL ALGERIAN DRAFT. IF THE AMENDMENTS ARE PUT TO THE VOT L8 WILL BE VOTED ON FIRST.

4. THIS HAS COMPLICATED THE HANDLING OF THE ISSUE. IF MOROCCO PRESSES ITS AMENDMENTS THE LIKELIHOOD IS THAT THE SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE AMENDMENTS WOULD BE CARRIED AND THE FINAL RESOLUTION WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY TOUGHER THAN THAT IN L2. THIS WOULD MEAN THAT FEWER WESTERN STATES WOULD SUPPORT THE RESOLUTION BUT BECAUSE OF ITS TACTICS, MOROCCO WOULD BE UNABLE TO COUNT ON SIGNIFICANT AFRICAN AND NON-ALIGNED SUPPORT AND IT WOULD BE LIKELY TO FIND ITSELF WITH A WORSE TEXT IN MORE ISOLATED COMPANY.

5. IN THE EVENT THAT THE AMENDMENTS ARE CARRIED WE RECOMMEND VOTING IN FAVOUR OF THE AMENDED L2.

6. TEXTS OF L7 AND L8 FOLLOW BY FAX.

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R E S T R I C T E D

UNGA 38: FOURTH COMMITTEE: ITEM 18: WESTERN SAHARA

MR HAYDEN HAS AGREED THAT WE SUPPORT THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION AS IT STANDS AT PRESENT (IN L.2).

2. HE HAS ALSO AGREED THAT WE COULD SUPPORT THE MOROCCAN DECISION, ALTHOUGH WE NOTE PARA 1 OF REFTEL ADVISES THAT THIS HAS NOW BEEN OVERTAKEN. WE SHALL PROVIDE SEPARATE COMMENTS ON THE MOROCCAN AMENDMENTS WHEN THEY ARE AVAILABLE.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

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ACTION: IO

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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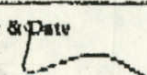
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REF. NO. OF PAGES 5

Subject Heading or Summary of Text:

UNLA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE
ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAMARA

Following are texts of A/C4/38/47
and A/C4/38/48

Sender Phone	Signature & Date 	Dept/Section	Phone No.	No. of copies to be returned to sender
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General Assembly

Distr.
LIMITED

A/C.4/38/L.7
15 November 1983
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-eighth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING
OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Question of Western Sahara

Equatorial Guinea: amendments to draft
resolution A/C.4/38/L.2

1. After the first preambular paragraph, insert the following new paragraph:

Chair
"Taking note of decision AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) on the question, adopted unanimously by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighteenth ordinary session in Nairobi, Kenya, from 20 to 27 June 1982, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution, as well as the decisions of the Implementation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, adopted in Nairobi in August 1981 and February 1982,"

2. In operative paragraph 1, replace the phrase "as follows" by the phrase "the text of which is annexed to the present resolution."

ANNEX

A. Decision AHG/Res.103 (XVIII), adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighteenth ordinary session

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting at its eighteenth ordinary session in Nairobi, Kenya, from 24 to 27 June 1981,

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General on Western Sahara (document AHG/103 (XVIII) A) and the reports of the fifth and sixth sessions of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara (documents AHG/103 (XVIII) B and AHG/103 (XVIII) C), respectively,

Having heard the statements made by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco, the heads of State of Mauritania and Algeria as well as those made by various heads of State and Government and leaders of delegations,

Noting with appreciation the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco to accept the holding of a referendum in Western Sahara to enable the people of that Territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

Noting further with appreciation His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the sixth session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I, as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

Recalling its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara,

1. Adopts the reports of the Secretary-General on Western Sahara and those of the fifth and sixth sessions of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara and endorses the recommendations contained therein (document AHG/Res.103 (XVIII)) and congratulates the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara for the commendable work done in finding a peaceful solution to the problem of Western Sahara;

2. Welcomes the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco for accepting the organization of a referendum in the territory of Western Sahara;

3. Decides to set up an Implementation Committee composed of Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Tanzania to ensure, with the co-operation of the concerned parties and with full power, the implementation of the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee;

4. Urges the parties to the conflict to observe an immediate cease-fire and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire without delay;

5. Directs the Implementation Committee to meet before the end of August 1981 and, in collaboration with the parties in conflict, to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct and administration of the referendum;

6. Requests the United Nations, in conjunction with OAU, to provide a peace-keeping force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the referendum and subsequent elections;

7. Mandates the Implementation Committee, with the participation of the United Nations, to take all necessary measures to guarantee the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of self-determination through a general and free referendum;

8. Requests the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take into account the proceedings of the eighteenth ordinary session on the question of Western Sahara and to this end invites the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee.

B. Resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its nineteenth ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 12 June 1983,

Having examined the report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

Recalling the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II during the 18th Summit to accept the holding of a referendum in the Western Sahara to enable the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

Recalling with appreciation His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the Sixth Session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I, as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

Reaffirming its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara, and in particular AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) of 27 June 1981,

1. Takes note of the reports of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara;

2. Urges the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary condition for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the OAU and the United Nations and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire;

3. Directs the Implementation Committee to meet as soon as possible, and in collaboration with the parties to the conflict, to continue to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct of the referendum in December 1983;

4. Requests the United Nations in conjunction with the OAU to provide a Peace-Keeping Force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the Referendum;

5. Mandates the Implementation Committee with the participation of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to ensure the proper implementation of this resolution;

6. Requests the Implementation Committee to report to the 20th Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the result of the Referendum with a view to enabling the 20th Summit to reach a final decision on all aspects of the question of the Western Sahara;

7. Decides to remain seized with the question of Western Sahara;

8. Requests the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take account of the proceedings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Ordinary Sessions on the question of Western Sahara and to this end invites the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee;

9. Welcomes the constructive attitude of the Sahrawi leaders in making it possible for the 19th Summit to meet by withdrawing from it voluntarily and temporarily.



General Assembly

Distr.
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A/C.4/38/L.8*
16 November 1983
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-eighth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Question of Western Sahara

Sao Tome and Principe: amendments to the amendments to draft
resolution A/C.4/38/L.2, contained in document A/C.4/38/L.7

1. In paragraph 1 of the amendments, after the phrase "on the question", replace the remaining text with the following:

"and of all the resolutions adopted on the question of Western Sahara by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, and reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,".

2. In paragraph 2 of the amendments, after the phrase "to the present resolution", insert the following:

"and, like the Organization of African Unity, urges the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara; a referendum without any administrative or military constraints under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations."

* Reissued for technical reasons.

4. Urges the parties to the conflict to observe an immediate cease-fire and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire without delay;

5. Directs the Implementation Committee to meet before the end of August 1981 and, in collaboration with the parties in conflict, to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct and administration of the referendum;

6. Requests the United Nations, in conjunction with OAU, to provide a peace-keeping force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the referendum and subsequent elections;

7. Mandates the Implementation Committee, with the participation of the United Nations, to take all necessary measures to guarantee the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of self-determination through a general and free referendum;

8. Requests the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take into account the proceedings of the eighteenth ordinary session on the question of Western Sahara and to this end invites the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee.

H. Resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its nineteenth ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 12 June 1983,

Having examined the report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

Recalling the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II during the 18th Summit to accept the holding of a referendum in the Western Sahara to enable the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

Recalling with appreciation His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the Sixth Session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I, as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

Reaffirming its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara, and in particular AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) of 27 June 1981,

1. Takes note of the reports of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara;



General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/38/555
2 November 1983

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Thirty-eighth session
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Question of Western Sahara

Report of the Secretary-General

1. At its thirty-seventh session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 37/28 and decision 37/411, on 23 November 1982, concerning the question of Western Sahara. The operative part of resolution 37/28 reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"...

"1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), as well as with the relevant resolutions of the Assembly and the Organization of African Unity;

"2. Welcomes the efforts of the Organization of African Unity with a view to promoting a just and definitive solution to the question of Western Sahara;

"3. Remains convinced that only negotiation between Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro could create the objective conditions for the return of peace in north-west Africa and would guarantee the fair conduct of a general, free and orderly referendum on self-determination in Western Sahara;

"4. Appeals, to that end, to the two parties to the dispute, Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, to enter into negotiations with a view to achieving a cease-fire in accordance with General Assembly resolution 36/46 and the decisions of the Organization of African Unity;

"5. Reaffirms the determination of the United Nations to co-operate fully with the Organization of African Unity in the fair and impartial organization of the referendum;

"6. Requests, to that end, the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to ensure that the United Nations participates effectively in the organization and conduct of the referendum and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on this subject and on the measures requiring a decision by the Council;

"7. Urges the Secretary-General to co-operate closely with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity with a view to the implementation of the pertinent decisions of the Organization of African Unity and of the present resolution;

"8. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session."

General Assembly decision 37/411 reads as follows:

"... the General Assembly, ... recalling its decision 36/406 of 24 November 1981 and taking into account the resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighteenth ordinary session, held at Nairobi from 24 to 27 June 1981, 1/ by which it decided, inter alia, to establish an Implementation Committee on Western Sahara, as well as the decisions adopted by the Implementation Committee, decided to request the Secretary-General to give assistance, in consultation and co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate relating to the question of Western Sahara arising from the above-mentioned resolution and decisions and to report thereon to the General Assembly and the Security Council, as appropriate."

2. On 6 January 1983, the Secretary-General addressed a letter to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in which he stated, inter alia:

"In conformity with the recommendations of the Assembly, I remain ready to provide assistance and co-operate with you in the implementation of the pertinent decisions of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and of the Implementation Committee."

3. On 28 June 1983, the interim Secretary-General of OAU transmitted to the Secretary-General the text of the resolution on Western Sahara (AHG/Res.104 (XIX)) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at its nineteenth ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983 (see annex).
4. In a further message, on 29 June, the interim Secretary-General of OAU requested United Nations assistance in the implementation of paragraphs 2, 4 and 5 of the OAU resolution (see annex).
5. On 30 June 1983, a reply was sent to the interim Secretary-General of OAU which stated, inter alia, that:
- "The Secretary-General wants you to know that he has noted the OAU resolution with great interest and is looking forward to co-operating closely with you with a view to the implementation of the pertinent decisions of our two organizations."
6. In response to an invitation from the interim Secretary-General of OAU, a United Nations team, led by Mr. Abdulrahim A. Farah, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, went to Addis Ababa in order to assist the OAU secretariat in preparatory arrangements and to be available for consultations at the third ordinary session of the Implementation Committee on Western Sahara of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, which met on 21 and 22 September 1983.
7. The United Nations team held extensive discussions with the OAU secretariat Task Force on Western Sahara on 19 and 20 September, particularly concerning the role envisaged for the United Nations in the process of implementation of OAU decisions on the question. The team provided to the OAU secretariat relevant technical information on United Nations procedures and practice in regard to the observation of cease-fires and the organization and conduct of referendums.
8. His Excellency, Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia, the current Chairman of OAU, received Mr. Farah and other members of the United Nations team on 21 September.
9. At the invitation of OAU, the United Nations team attended the meetings of the Implementation Committee on 21 and 22 September 1983, in the capacity of observer.
10. The Secretary-General has maintained close contacts with OAU in regard to common efforts for a just and lasting solution to this problem. As requested by the General Assembly, the Secretary-General will continue to do everything possible to render the necessary assistance to OAU in the application of the relevant decisions adopted by its Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

Notes

- 1/ See A/36/534, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII).

ANNEX

Resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX)

Resolution on Western Sahara

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Nineteenth Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 12 June 1983,

Having examined the report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

Recalling the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II during the 18th Summit to accept the holding of a referendum in the Western Sahara to enable the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

Recalling with appreciation, His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the Sixth Session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

Reaffirming its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara, and in particular AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) of 27 June 1981,

1. Takes note of the reports of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara;
2. Urges the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary condition for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the OAU and the United Nations and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire;
3. Directs the Implementation Committee to meet as soon as possible and, in collaboration with the parties to the conflict, to continue to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct of the referendum in December 1983;
4. Requests the United Nations in conjunction with the OAU to provide a Peace-Keeping Force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the Referendum;
5. Mandates the Implementation Committee with the participation of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to ensure the proper implementation of this resolution;

6. Requests the Implementation Committee to report to the 20th Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the result of the Referendum with a view to enabling the 20th Summit to reach a final decision on all aspects of the question of the Western Sahara;

7. Decides to remain seized with the question of Western Sahara;

8. Requests the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take account of the proceedings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Ordinary Sessions on the question of Western Sahara and to this end invites the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee;

9. Welcomes the constructive attitude of the Sahrawi leaders in making it possible for the 19th Summit to meet by withdrawing from it voluntarily and temporarily.

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NO. OF PAGES *3*

Subject Heading or Summary of Text:

UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION ON WESTERN
SAHARA (A/C.4/38/L.2).

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General Assembly

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A/C.4/38/L.2
3 November 1983
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-eighth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Panama, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Vanuatu, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zambia and Zimbabwe: draft resolution

Question of Western Sahara

The General Assembly,

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

1. Takes note of resolution AHC/Res.104 (XIX) on Western Sahara, adopted unanimously by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session, held in Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983, as follows:

"The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its nineteenth ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 12 June 1983,

"Having examined the report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

"Recalling the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II during the 18th Summit to accept the holding of a referendum in the Western Sahara to enable the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

"Recalling with appreciation His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the Sixth Session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I, as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

"Reaffirming its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara, and in particular AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) of 27 June 1981,

"1. Takes note of the reports of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara;

"2. Urges the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary condition for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the OAU and the United Nations and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire;

"3. Directs the Implementation Committee to meet as soon as possible, and in collaboration with the parties to the conflict, to continue to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct of the referendum in December 1983;

"4. Requests the United Nations in conjunction with the OAU to provide a Peace-Keeping Force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the Referendum;

"5. Mandates the Implementation Committee with the participation of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to ensure the proper implementation of this resolution;

"6. Requests the Implementation Committee to report to the 20th Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the result of the Referendum with a view to enabling the 20th Summit to reach a final decision on all aspects of the question of the Western Sahara;

"7. Decides to remain seized with the question of Western Sahara;

"8. Requests the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take account of the proceedings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Ordinary Sessions on the question of Western Sahara and to this end invites the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee;

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286/3

A/C.4/38/L.2

English

Page 3

"9. Welcomes the constructive attitude of the Sahrawi leaders in making it possible for the 19th Summit to meet by withdrawing from it voluntarily and temporarily."

2. Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to ensure that the United Nations participates effectively in the organization and conduct of the referendum and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on this subject and on the measures requiring a decision by the Council;

3. Urges the Secretary-General to co-operate closely with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity with a view to the implementation of the pertinent decisions of the Organization of African Unity and of the present resolution;

4. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session.

ENDS

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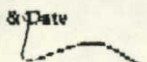
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UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE
ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAMARA

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General Assembly

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A/C.4/38/L.7
15 November 1983
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-eighth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Question of Western Sahara

Equatorial Guinea: amendments to draft resolution A/C.4/38/L.2

1. After the first preambular paragraph, insert the following new paragraph:

"Taking note of decision AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) on the question, adopted unanimously by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighteenth ordinary session in Nairobi, Kenya, from 20 to 27 June 1982, the text of which is annexed to the present resolution, as well as the decisions of the Implementation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, adopted in Nairobi in August 1981 and February 1982,"
2. In operative paragraph 1, replace the phrase "as follows" by the phrase "the text of which is annexed to the present resolution."

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FON 29612

ANNEX

A. Decision AHG/Res.103 (XVIII), adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its eighteenth ordinary session

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting at its eighteenth ordinary session in Nairobi, Kenya, from 24 to 27 June 1981,

Having examined the report of the Secretary-General on Western Sahara (document AHG/103 (XVIII) A) and the reports of the fifth and sixth sessions of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara (documents AHG/103 (XVIII) B and AHG/103 (XVIII) C), respectively,

Having heard the statements made by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco, the heads of State of Mauritania and Algeria as well as those made by various heads of State and Government and leaders of delegations,

Noting with appreciation the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco to accept the holding of a referendum in Western Sahara to enable the people of that Territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

Noting further with appreciation His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the sixth session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I, as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

Recalling its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara,

1. Adopts the reports of the Secretary-General on Western Sahara and those of the fifth and sixth sessions of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara and endorses the recommendations contained therein (document AHG/Res.103 (XVIII)) and congratulates the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara for the commendable work done in finding a peaceful solution to the problem of Western Sahara;

2. Welcomes the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco for accepting the organization of a referendum in the territory of Western Sahara;

3. Decides to set up an Implementation Committee composed of Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Tanzania to ensure, with the co-operation of the concerned parties and with full power, the implementation of the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee;

/...

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From 196/3

A/C.4/38/L.7
English
Page 3

4. Urges the parties to the conflict to observe an immediate cease-fire and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire without delay;

5. Directs the Implementation Committee to meet before the end of August 1981 and, in collaboration with the parties in conflict, to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct and administration of the referendum;

6. Requests the United Nations, in conjunction with OAU, to provide a peace-keeping force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the referendum and subsequent elections;

7. Mandates the Implementation Committee, with the participation of the United Nations, to take all necessary measures to guarantee the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of self-determination through a general and free referendum;

8. Requests the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take into account the proceedings of the eighteenth ordinary session on the question of Western Sahara and to this end invites the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee.

B. Resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its nineteenth ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 12 June 1983,

Having examined the report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

Recalling the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II during the 18th Summit to accept the holding of a referendum in the Western Sahara to enable the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

Recalling with appreciation His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the Sixth Session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I, as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

Reaffirming its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara, and in particular AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) of 27 June 1981,

1. Takes note of the reports of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara;

/...

2. Urges the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary condition for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the OAU and the United Nations and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire;
 3. Directs the Implementation Committee to meet as soon as possible, and in collaboration with the parties to the conflict, to continue to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct of the referendum in December 1983;
 4. Requests the United Nations in conjunction with the OAU to provide a Peace-Keeping Force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the Referendum;
 5. Mandates the Implementation Committee with the participation of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to ensure the proper implementation of this resolution;
 6. Requests the Implementation Committee to report to the 20th Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the result of the Referendum with a view to enabling the 20th Summit to reach a final decision on all aspects of the question of the Western Sahara;
 7. Decides to remain seized with the question of Western Sahara;
 8. Requests the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take account of the proceedings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Ordinary Sessions on the question of Western Sahara and to this end invites the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee;
 9. Welcomes the constructive attitude of the Sahrawi leaders in making it possible for the 19th Summit to meet by withdrawing from it voluntarily and temporarily.
-



General Assembly

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A/C.4/38/L.8*
16 November 1983
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-eighth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Question of Western Sahara

Sao Tome and Principe: amendments to the amendments to draft
resolution A/C.4/38/L.2, contained in document A/C.4/38/L.7

1. In paragraph 1 of the amendments, after the phrase "on the question", replace the remaining text with the following:

"and of all the resolutions adopted on the question of Western Sahara by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, and reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,".

2. In paragraph 2 of the amendments, after the phrase "to the present resolution", insert the following:

"and, like the Organization of African Unity, urges the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara; a referendum without any administrative or military constraints under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations."

* Reissued for technical reasons.

4. Urges the parties to the conflict to observe an immediate cease-fire and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire without delay;

5. Directs the Implementation Committee to meet before the end of August 1981 and, in collaboration with the parties in conflict, to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct and administration of the referendum;

6. Requests the United Nations, in conjunction with OAU, to provide a peace-keeping force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the referendum and subsequent elections;

7. Mandates the Implementation Committee, with the participation of the United Nations, to take all necessary measures to guarantee the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of self-determination through a general and free referendum;

8. Requests the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take into account the proceedings of the eighteenth ordinary session on the question of Western Sahara and to this end invites the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee.

H. Resolution AHG/Res.104 (XIX) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its nineteenth ordinary session

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its nineteenth ordinary session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 12 June 1983,

Having examined the report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

Recalling the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II during the 18th Summit to accept the holding of a referendum in the Western Sahara to enable the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

Recalling with appreciation His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the Sixth Session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I, as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

Reaffirming its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara, and in particular AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) of 27 June 1981,

1. Takes note of the reports of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara;

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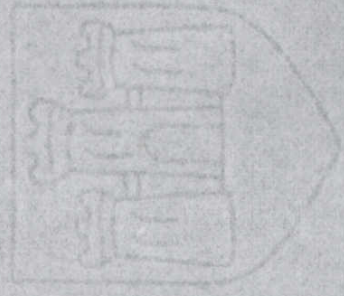
SUBJECT. FOURTH COMMITTEE : WESTERN SAHARA

*EG - News week
NY should fix 8/12.*

I note from the weekly round-up No. 8 for UNGA 38 that there has been some attention focussed on the Western Sahara in the Fourth Committee. As I am expecting to pay an official visit to Morocco early in the New Year, it would be helpful to have before then a fairly full account of the UNGA discussion on the Western Sahara. It would, of course, suffice to have by bag a copy of the relevant summary records.

→ UNP

(P. C. J. Curtis)
Ambassador



INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS, REFUGEES, SOUTH ASIA,
AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST/R.J. GREET
UN POLITICAL SECTION/M. STOYICH

14 NOV 1982

WESTERN SAHARA: ALGERIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION

To seek your decision on the position Australia should take in the General Assembly on an Algerian draft resolution on the Western Sahara question.

The issue of the status of Western Sahara has been divisive in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) for some years, with a contest for international support between Morocco, which maintains that Western Sahara is a part of Moroccan territory, and Algeria, which supports the Polisario Front in its claims to be "the sole and authentic representative" of the people of Western Sahara. The OAU has sought to bring about negotiations between Morocco and Polisario, but has found it difficult to get Morocco to join such a process.

. In 1981 King Hassan II of Morocco agreed to accept the organisation of a referendum in the Western Sahara. The OAU set up an Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of a ceasefire and to conduct the referendum. Morocco however has refused to recognise Polisario as the other party to the dispute to negotiate a ceasefire.

. At the 19th Summit of the OAU at Addis Ababa in June this year, an OAU resolution (attached at A) called for Morocco and the Polisario Front to enter into negotiations aimed at bringing about a ceasefire, so that a referendum for self-determination could take place in December 1983. This resolution, which was explicit in its identification of Morocco and the Polisario as "parties to the conflict", was accepted by all OAU members, including Morocco. However, according to a letter circulated by the OAU Chairman (copy attached at B), Morocco has refused to negotiate with the Polisario to arrange a ceasefire under which a referendum could be held.

. The United Nations has considered the question of Western Sahara as a non-self-governing territory for a number of years. It has advocated in successive resolutions of the General Assembly the right of the people of Western Sahara to an act of self-determination. These resolutions have recognised Polisario as a party principal in such an act.

. Australia has generally supported Algerian resolutions on this question, with the exception of UNGA 36 in 1981 when we abstained because the Algerian resolution cut across the then efforts of the OAU Implementation Committee to encourage a solution on Western Sahara acceptable to all parties. (We have generally been more disposed to vote in favour than some West Europeans who have tended to abstain, largely no doubt because of their close relations with Morocco).

These votes reflect our support for self-determination for the people of Western Sahara, achieved through a negotiated settlement under the OAU. When there has been a separate Moroccan resolution, we have also tried to support their texts calling for a peaceful solution to the problem.

. The attached draft resolution on Western Sahara (at C) is being circulated by the Algerian delegation and is likely to be adopted in the General Assembly by a comfortable majority. (We understand that countries likely to vote in favour include the Nordics, Austria and possibly Canada, while Britain, FRG and the Netherlands are likely to abstain. Australia has voted in favour of Algerian resolutions in similar WEOG company in the past). The draft resolution repeats in its entirety the OAU resolution calling on Morocco and Polisario to negotiate, and is moderate in tone. Its main elements are:

Part I - takes note of the OAU resolution, which:

- urges Morocco and the Polisario Front to undertake direct negotiations for a ceasefire to allow the organisation of a referendum for self-determination under the auspices of the OAU and the UN
- asks the UN with the OAU to provide a peacekeeping force to ensure peace and security during the referendum.

Part II - asks the Secretary-General to ensure that the UN participates in the organisation and conduct of the referendum and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on this subject and on measures for decision by the Council (e.g. the proposal for a peacekeeping force).

Part III - asks the Secretary-General to co-operate with the OAU with a view to implementing the pertinent decisions of the OAU and the resolution.

. Although the resolution contains a request for the United Nations to provide a peacekeeping force, this call is in the OAU resolution, and is taken note of in operative paragraph 1 of the Algerian resolution. The Security Council's prerogatives are observed, in that Part II of the resolution requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on measures requiring a decision of the Council.

. For Australia to vote in favour would be consistent with our support for self-determination in the Western Sahara and for the efforts of the OAU to bring about a solution to the problem.

. Morocco has also circulated, also at C, a draft decision (not a resolution) which takes note of the efforts of the OAU Implementation Committee and welcomes Morocco's support for a referendum. It should be acceptable to Australia. The Moroccan draft avoids any explicit reference to negotiations between Morocco and the Polisario Front, although it contains a reference to the

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OAU resolution. It is unlikely that Algeria and its supporters will allow it to proceed without putting forward an amendment calling for direct negotiations. In such an event Morocco may withdraw its decision rather than vote on a text which it considered contained unacceptable elements.

RECOMMENDATION

That we support the Algerian resolution in a vote in the General Assembly ~~and~~ also the Moroccan decision, if it is put forward and put to the vote in its present form.

llh

(R.J. Greet)

A/First Assistant Secretary
International Organisations, Refugees,
South Asia, Africa and Middle East Division

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*118 We shall need to
respond when the Moroccan
Amendments are to hand.*

935/28/2

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

FROM FILE 103/3/4 412/1

WE ARE FAXING SEPARATELY THE TEXT OF THE ALGERIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/C.4/38/L.2) ON WESTERN SAHARA. WE UNDERSTAND THAT MOROCCO HAS NOW DECIDED NOT TO PROCEED WITH THE SUBMISSION OF A DRAFT DECISION BUT RATHER IS PLANNING TO SUBMIT AMENDMENTS TO THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION. THESE AMENDMENTS WOULD INCLUDE REFERENCES TO THE NAIROBI SUMMIT RESOLUTION AND TO RESOLUTIONS OF THE OAU IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE. MOROCCO IS PROPOSING THAT THE TEXT OF THE ADDIS SUMMIT RESOLUTION BE REMOVED FROM THE BODY OF THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION AND ATTACHED AS AN ANNEXE. NEITHER OF THESE PROPOSALS IS LIKELY TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE ALGERIANS., INDEED, WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE MOROCCANS HAVE BEEN ATTEMPTING UNSUCCESSFULLY TO HAVE THIS LANGUAGE INCORPORATED INTO THE ALGERIAN DRAFT FOR SOME DAYS. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THEY WILL PROCEED IN TABLING THESE AMENDMENTS OR WHETHER THEY WOULD PUSH THEM TO A VOTE. WE SHALL SEND THE TEXT OF THE AMENDMENTS AS SOON AS THEY ARE AVAILABLE.

2. VOTING ON RESOLUTIONS IN THE FOURTH COMMITTEE IS LIKELY TO BEGIN ON 16 NOVEMBER ALTHOUGH WE WOULD ASSESS THAT VOTING ON THE RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA WOULD NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL LATER IN THE WEEK. WE SHALL OF COURSE REQUIRE INSTRUCTIONS ON THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION AND, WHEN RECEIVED, ON THE MOROCCAN PROPOSALS. THE POSITION OF OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES REMAINS UNCLEAR BUT THERE APPEARS TO BE A PREDISPOSITION ON THE PART OF THE NORDICS AND AUSTRIA AT LEAST TO SUPPORT THE RESOLUTION. THE EC 10 IS MEETING ON 15 NOVEMBER TO COORDINATE POSITIONS.

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HONOLULU

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

CONFIDENTIAL

IN

CONFIDENTIAL

935/28/2
33

ACTION: IO
COPY NO. 1

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.AL7594 CWCH
TOR 17.47 14.11.83

O.AL7594 1600 12.11.83 CLA

TO.
RR CANBERRA/5957

RP.
RR UN NEW YORK/311 PARIS EMB/1075 WASHINGTON/189
RR NAIROBI/102 ACCRA/40

FM. ALGIERS / REF O.UN28735

~~118~~
KC. has
follow up our
sub with
Min's office

C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : WESTERN SAHARA

IT IS OF INTEREST THAT THE MOROCCANS SEEM TO HAVE TAKEN SOME TROUBLE THIS YEAR TO HAVE A RANGE OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM PRO-MOROCCAN SAHARAN ORGANISATION ADDRESS THE FOURTH COMMITTEE. WE TAKE IT THAT THIS IS A NEW DEVELOPMENT. WE UNDERSTAND THAT WHEN THE MOROCCAN CROWN PRINCE ATTENDED THE ABORTIVE ADDIS ABABA MEETING OF THE OAU IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE HE WAS ALSO ACCOMPANIED BY A VERY LARGE DELEGATION, INCLUDING NUMEROUS SAHARAN REPRESENTATIVES.

2. THE INVOLVEMENT OF SAHARAN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE DISCUSSION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA ISSUE MAY BE A MOROCCAN RESPONSE TO THE ADDIS ABABA OAU SUMMIT RESOLUTION CALLING FOR DIRECT MOROCCAN NEGOTIATIONS WITH POLISARIO. AFTER HAVING FAILED TO SECURE OAU ACCEPTANCE OF THEIR POSITION THAT THE DISPUTE WAS ONE TO BE SETTLED DIRECTLY BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ALGERIA, THE MOROCCANS MAY NOW BE EDGING TOWARDS SAYING THAT IT IS REALLY A MATTER TO BE SORTED OUT BETWEEN THE SAHARANS THEMSELVES, I.E. BETWEEN 'THEIR' SAHARANS AND ALGERIA'S SAHARANS (POLISARIO).

3. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT, HAVING SECURED UNAMBIGUOUS OAU RECOGNITION THAT POLISARIO IS TO BE A PARTY PRINCIPAL TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, ALGERIA AND POLISARIO WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A GROUP OF MOROCCAN SAHARAN ORGANISATIONS AS THE OTHER NEGOTIATING PARTNER. POLISARIO COULD WELL ARGUE THAT ITS FORCES ARE NOT FIGHTING THE SAHARAN ORGANISATIONS AND THAT A CEASE-FIRE AND REFERENDUM COULD ONLY BE NEGOTIATED WITH THE MOROCCAN GOVERNMENT. MOREOVER, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO PERSUADE THEM THAT THE MOROCCAN SAHARAN ORGANISATIONS HAVE ANY REAL INDEPENDENCE OF ACTION. FOR ALL ITS DEPENDENCE ON ALGERIA FOR LOGISTIC SUPPORT AND SANCTUARY, POLISARIO HAS SOME CREDIBILITY AS A LIBERATION MOVEMENT WITH AN EXISTENCE INDEPENDENT OF THE ALGERIAN GOVERNMENT.

4. WHILE THERE ARE NO SIGNS THAT MOROCCO IS ABOUT TO CHANGE ITS

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POLICY, IT WILL BE UNDER STRONG PRESSURE TO DO SO IN THE RUN-UP TO THE NEXT OAU SUMMIT. THIS PRESSURE CAN BE EXPECTED TO COME FROM A RANGE OF SOURCES, INCLUDING COUNTRIES SUCH AS SENEGAL AND GUINEA WHO HAVE FORMERLY BEEN AMONG MOROCCO'S CLOSEST SUPPORTERS. WHILE GUINEA'S POSITION PROBABLY HASN'T CHANGED FUNDAMENTALLY, ITS ROLE AS HOST TO THE RECENT SUMMIT WILL GIVE IT A PARTICULAR INTEREST IN ENCOURAGING THE MOROCCANS TO SHOW GREATER FLEXIBILITY. THUS, IT MAY BE THAT THE MOROCCANS ARE PREPARING THE GROUND TO THRUST ''THEIR'' SAHARAN INTERLOCUTERS FORWARD AS AN INDICATION OF ITS WILLINGNESS TO SEE THE ''PARTIES CONCERNED'' (THE VARIOUS SAHARAN BODIES, INCLUDING POLISARIO) NEGOTIATE AMONG THEMSELVES.

5. AS SUGGESTED ABOVE, WE DOUBT THAT THIS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALGERIA OR POLISARIO, ALTHOUGH JUST CONCEIVABLY THE SITUATION COULD BE DIFFERENT IF THEY WERE PERSUADED THAT THE SAHARANS WERE BEING USED AS A COVER TO ENABLE THE KING TO MAKE CONCESSIONS THAT HE MIGHT NOT FEEL ABLE TO OFFER DIRECTLY HIMSELF. BUT THERE SEEMS NO REASON TO SUPPOSE THAT THAT IS THE INTENTION. MORE PROBABLY, MOROCCO'S SAHARANS WILL BE USED IN AN EFFORT TO PERSUADE INTERNATIONAL OPINION THAT IT IS NOT RABAT THAT IS BEING INTRANSIGENT BUT THAT MOROCCO IS MERELY RESPONDING TO THE EXPRESSED WISHES OF SAHARAN ORGANISATIONS WHOSE VIEWS ARE AS EQUALLY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SAHARAN PEOPLE AS THOSE OF POLISARIO.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IO

OGBAAFA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	MCO	PA
FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	CN	EX	DPR
ISPP	FAS(IRSAM)	SAM	FAS(ECO)		FAS(LC)
MLT	IL	GLI	AR	FAREP-M	FAREP-P
FAREP-S					

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ACTION: IO
COPY NO. 1

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.UN28850 LATR
TOR 13.15 10.11.83

O.UN28850 2045 9.11.83 CLA

TO.
PP CANBERRA/7503

RP.
PP ALGIERS/265 PARIS EMB/651

FM. UN NEW YORK / REF O.CH150452 O.UN28735

C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

ALGERIA HAS NOW TABLED ITS DRAFT RESOLUTION WHILE MOROCCO IS STILL TRYING TO DRUM UP SUPPORT FOR A TRUNCATED VERSION OF THE DECISION SENT IN FUN208/4. THE MOROCCANS APPEAR TO BE MEETING WITH LITTLE SUCCESS. THE STICKING POINTS WITH THEIR DRAFT DECISION ARE THEIR INSISTENCE ON A REFERENCE TO THE NAIROBI OAU SUMMIT RESOLUTION 36/406 (WHICH DID NOT REFER TO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS) IN ADDITION TO 36/411 ADOPTED AT ADDIS ABABA AND THEIR FAILURE TO INCLUDE ANY REFERENCE TO NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND POLISARIO.

2. A PROPOSAL TO HOLD A MEETING OF OAU IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVES TO WORK OUT A COMPROMISE WAS APPARENTLY RESISTED BY ETHIOPIA. WE DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH JONES (SIERRA LEONE, WHO IS A MEMBER OF THE IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE) HE SAW LITTLE PROSPECT OF A COMPROMISE BEING REACHED. HIS VIEW WAS THAT IF MOROCCO PERSISTS WITH ITS DRAFT IT WILL BE CONFRONTED WITH AN AMENDMENT CALLING FOR REFERENCES TO NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD IN TURN BE CARRIED. GIVEN THIS LIKELIHOOD HE WAS INCLINED TO THINK THAT THE MOROCCANS WOULD NOT PERSIST WITH THEIR DRAFT DECISION. WE WOULD AGREE. IN THE GENERAL DEBATE ON ITEM 18 A NUMBER OF AFRICAN, EASTERN EUROPEAN AND NON-ALIGNED DELEGATIONS HAVE SPOKEN IN FAVOUR OF THE ALGERIAN DRAFT. THERE HAS BEEN NO SUPPORT FOR THE MOROCCAN POSITION SAVE FROM THEIR OWN PETITIONERS.

3. THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION HAS CUT THE GROUND FROM UNDER MOROCCO'S FEET. BY TAKING NOTE OF ADDIS SUMMIT RESOLUTION 37/411 (WHICH MOROCCO SUPPORTED, ALBEIT WITH RESERVATIONS) IT IS ABLE TO POINT TO A REGIONALLY AGREED CONSENSUS. THE REPRODUCTION OF 37/411 IN ITS ENTIRETY IN THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION DRAMATISE THIS. WE HAVE NOTED THE COMMENTS IN PARA 2 OF REFTEL CONCERNING THE REQUEST FOR THE UNITED NATIONS TO PROVIDE A PEACEKEEPING FORCE. YOU WILL NOTE THAT THIS CALL IS IN THE OAU RESOLUTION WHICH IS MERELY TAKEN NOTE OF IN OP PARA 1 OF THE ALGERIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION. OF THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION OP PARA 2 COVERS THE POINT ABOUT THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S

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IN

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

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CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION: IO
COPY NO. 1

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2-O.UN28850

PEROGATIVES IN THAT IT REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON MEASURES REQUIRING A DECISION OF THE COUNCIL. AS YET NO WESTERN DELEGATION HAVE INSTRUCTIONS ON THE TEXT BUT IN THE EVENT THAT A COMPROMISE CANNOT BE ARRIVED AT, SWEDEN, FINLAND NORWAY AND AUSTRIA AND POSSIBLY CANADA ARE LIKELY TO SUPPORT THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION. THE FRG, BRITAIN AND NETHERLANDS ARE LIKELY TO ABSTAIN. IN THE LIGHT OF OUR SUPPORT FOR RESOLUTION 37/28 AT UNGA 37 AND THE MODERATION OF THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION WE RECOMMEND THAT WE SUPPORT IT.

4. THE VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION IS UNLIKELY TO TAKE PLACE BEFORE 16 NOVEMBER.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IO

OGBAAFA

SEC DEPSEC-A
FAS(EANA) CN
FAS(IRSAM) SAM
IL GLI AR

DEPSEC-B
EX DPR
FAS(ECO)
FAREP-M

LA MCO PA
ISPP
FAS(LC) MLT
FAREP-P FAREP-S

HONOLULU

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IN

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

935/28/20
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ACTION: IO
COPY NO. 2

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.UN28850 LATR
TOR 13.15 10.11.83

O.UN28850 2045 9.11.83 CLA

TO.
PP CANBERRA/7503

RP.
PP ALGIERS/265 PARIS EMB/651

FM. UN NEW YORK / REF O.CH150452 O.UN28735

*If we can accept
the SC provisions
we can vote
for*

C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

ALGERIA HAS NOW TABLED ITS DRAFT RESOLUTION WHILE MOROCCO IS STILL TRYING TO DRUM UP SUPPORT FOR A TRUNCATED VERSION OF THE DECISION SENT IN FUN208/4. THE MOROCCANS APPEAR TO BE MEETING WITH LITTLE SUCCESS. THE STICKING POINTS WITH THEIR DRAFT DECISION ARE THEIR INSISTENCE ON A REFERENCE TO THE NAIROBI OAU SUMMIT RESOLUTION 36/406 (WHICH DID NOT REFER TO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS) IN ADDITION TO 36/411 ADOPTED AT ADDIS ABABA AND THEIR FAILURE TO INCLUDE ANY REFERENCE TO NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND POLISARIO.

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IN

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DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION: IO
COPY NO. 2

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-O.UN28850

PEROGATIVES IN THAT IT REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON MEASURES REQUIRING A DECISION OF THE COUNCIL. AS YET NO WESTERN DELEGATION HAVE INSTRUCTIONS ON THE TEXT BUT IN THE EVENT THAT A COMPROMISE CANNOT BE ARRIVED AT, SWEDEN, FINLAND NORWAY AND AUSTRIA AND POSSIBLY CANADA ARE LIKELY TO SUPPORT THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION. THE FRG, BRITAIN AND NETHERLANDS ARE LIKELY TO ABSTAIN. IN THE LIGHT OF OUR SUPPORT FOR RESOLUTION 37/28 AT UNGA 37 AND THE MODERATION OF THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION WE RECOMMEND THAT WE SUPPORT IT.

4. THE VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION IS UNLIKELY TO TAKE PLACE BEFORE 16 NOVEMBER.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: IO

OGBAAFA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	MCO	PA
FAS(EANA)	CN	EX DPR	ISPP		
FAS(IRSAM)	SAM	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LC)		MLT
IL	GLI	FAREP-M	FAREP-P		FAREP-S

HONOLULU

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.NA19984 CWCH
TOR 22.47 10.11.83

O.NA19984 1330 10.11.83 CLA

TO.
PP CANBERRA/8059

RP.
RR ACCRA/604 LUSAKA/360 DAR ES SALAAM/1362
RR CAPETOWN/248 PRETORIA/680 ALGIERS/116
RR CAIRO/476 HARARE/585 UN NEW YORK/861
RR LONDON/1596 PARIS EMB/351 BONN/125
RR WASHINGTON/827 MOSCOW/081 ATHENS/076

FM. NAIROBI / REF O.NA19514

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OAU : RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

FROM FILE 235/1 241/1/1/1 221/1 241/2/4 241/2/5

SUMMARY: THE NEWLY ANNOUNCED AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN WARMLY WELCOMED IN THE OAU SECRETARIAT IN ADDIS ABABA. SECRETARIAT'S APPRECIATION OF THE NEW POLICIES ADOPTED BY THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN EXPRESSED IN A THIRD PERSON NOTE TO THE HIGH COMMISSION IN NAIROBI (FULL TEXT IN FOLLOW-UP CABLE). THERE HAS BEEN SOME POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CHAD DISPUTE. A MEETING OF THE WARRING FACTIONS IS TO TAKE PLACE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. CONSIDERATION IS BEING GIVEN TO REPLACING FOREIGN TROOPS IN CHAD BY AN OAU PEACEKEEPING FORCE. IN CONTRAST, THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE IF ANY PROGRESS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE OAU RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA. MOROCCO'S INTRANSIGENCE REMAINS THE MAIN STUMBLING BLOCK. LACK OF PROGRESS ON WESTERN SAHARA COULD JEOPARDISE THE HOLDING OF THE 20TH SUMMIT IN CONACKRY (GUINEA) SCHEDULED FOR JULY 1984. THE OAU SECRETARIAT WAS DISAPPOINTED AT THE SUDDEN AND UNEXPECTED DECISION OF THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU, ETHIOPIAN HEAD OF STATE, MENGISTU, NOT TO ATTEND THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY. SECRETARIAT FEELS SOVIET PRESSURE MIGHT HAVE BEEN THE MAIN REASON BEHIND MENGISTU'S DECISION.
(CONFIDENTIAL)

DURING RECENT VISIT TO ETHIOPIA (2-8 NOVEMBER) SECOND SECRETARY HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS DEVELOPMENTS IN THE OAU WITH THE

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ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENERAL (POLITICAL) FRANK NJENGA.
NJENGA'S COMMENTS ON CHAD, WESTERN SAHARA AND OAU CHAIRMAN'S
NON-ATTENDANCE AT UN WERE GIVEN TO US IN CONFIDENCE AND SHOULD BE
APPROPRIATELY SAFEGUARDED.

AUSTRALIAN POLICIES TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA (UNDERLINED)

2. NJENGA ON BEHALF OF THE OAU EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF THE NEW
POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA ANNOUNCED RECENTLY BY MR HAYDEN. DURING
DISCUSSION NJENGA SAID THAT SINCE THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE
19TH SUMMIT THE MOST POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE OAU CONTEXT HAS
BEEN NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE AUSTRALIAN POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA
AND THAT ALL MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE OAU WERE MOST APPRECIATIVE.
NJENGA HOPED THAT OTHER COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES,
WILL EMULATE THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S POSITIVE INITIATIVES.

3. THE ONLY QUERY RAISED BY NJENGA CONCERNED ADMITTANCE OF
PROFESSIONAL SPORTSMEN TO AUSTRALIA. HE FELT THAT THERE WAS A DANGER
THAT SOME SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTSMEN COULD FALSELY CLAIM THAT THEY WERE
PROFESSIONALS AND THEREFORE GAIN ILLEGAL ENTRY INTO AUSTRALIA. IN
OUR RESPONSE WE STRESSED THAT ALL PROFESSIONAL APPLICANTS WOULD BE
INDIVIDUALLY AND CAREFULLY CONSIDERED TO ENSURE THAT THEIR CLAIMS
SATISFIED AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S REQUIREMENTS. IF THERE WAS PROOF
THAT AN INDIVIDUAL SPORTSPERSON WAS NOT A TRUE PROFESSIONAL, THEN OF
COURSE HE OR SHE WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO COMPETE IN AUSTRALIA. OUR
CLARIFICATION ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS ASPECT OF ABOVE POLICY
SEEMED TO HAVE DISPELLED NJENGA'S CONCERNS.

4. THE SCHOLARSHIP SCHEME DECISION TO ALLOW ANC AND SWAPO TO
ESTABLISH INFORMATION OFFICES IN AUSTRALIA AND THE PROPOSED PROGRAM
ON VISITS TO AUSTRALIA WERE ALSO WELCOMED AND SEEN AS VERY POSITIVE
DEVELOPMENTS.

5. ON THE CIVIL AVIATION LINK BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND SOUTH AFRICA
NJENGA SAID THAT AFRICAN COUNTRIES WERE HOPING THAT THE BILATERAL
AGREEMENT BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE ALLOWED TO
LAPSE AND SOUTH AFRICAN AIRWAYS STOPPED FROM FLYING TO AUSTRALIA. HE
HOPED THAT AUSTRALIA WOULD INSTEAD DEVELOP ITS CIVIL AVIATION LINKS
WITH COUNTRIES LIKE MAURITIUS. WE SAID TO NJENGA THAT EVEN THOUGH
THE CIVIL AVIATION POLICY WAS STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION THE
GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY REDUCED THE FREQUENCY OF SAA FLIGHTS TO
AUSTRALIA BY 40 PERCENT.

6. THE RECENT STATEMENT BY MR HAYDEN BOTH ON THE SO-CALLED
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS, AND ON THE POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA HAD
BEEN PROMINENTLY REPORTED IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE DAILY THE
'ETHIOPIAN HERALD'. THE MEETING BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF

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IN

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AFRICAN COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES IN AUSTRALIA AND THE PRIME MINISTER, MR HAWKE WAS ALSO REPORTED ON 3 NOVEMBER IN A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE UNDER THE HEADING 'AUSTRALIA'S NEW POLICY ON SOUTH AFRICA WELCOMED'

7. DURING A SEPARATE DISCUSSION IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS WE WERE AGAIN TOLD THAT THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT APPRECIATED VERY MUCH THE STAND TAKEN BY THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA.

CHAD (UNDERLINED)

8. NJENGA INFORMED US THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOME POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CHAD DISPUTE. RECENTLY HISSAN HABRE AGREED TO ENTER INTO BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER FACTIONS. ACCORDING TO NJENGA, THE INITIAL MEETING WILL ONLY INVOLVE VARIOUS CHADIAN FACTIONS AND NOT MEMBERS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON CHAD (A NON OAU COMMITTEE) OR THE OAU CHAD-LIBYA AD HOC MEDIATION COMMITTEE. THE VENUE FOR THE MEETING HAS NOT AS YET BEEN DECIDED BUT NJENGA THOUGHT THE MEETING COULD TAKE PLACE IN FRANCE. DISCUSSIONS WERE PROCEEDING ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW OAU PEACEKEEPING FORCE BEING INTRODUCED INTO CHAD. ACCORDING TO NJENGA, LIBYA AND FRANCE HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE FINANCIALLY TOWARDS THE PEACEKEEPING FORCE. FRANCE WAS MOST ANXIOUS TO PULL OUT OF CHAD AND WAS APPARENTLY APPLYING CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE ON HABRE TO ENTER INTO MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE OTHER FACTIONS.

WESTERN SAHARA (UNDERLINED)

9. NJENGA WAS VERY PESSIMISTIC ON THE PROSPECTS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE OAU RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA DUE TO MOROCCO'S CONTINUING INTRANSIGIENCE. POLISARIO, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS SOFTENED ITS DEMAND THAT ANY NEGOTIATIONS BE PUBLIC AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO ENTER INTO PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH MOROCCO.

10. NJENGA SAID IT WAS TOO EARLY AS YET TO COMMENT ON WHAT EFFECT THE WESTERN SAHARAN DISPUTE MAY HAVE ON THE HOLDING OF THE 20TH SUMMIT IN CONACKRY. THE OAU SECRETARIAT WAS PROCEEDING AS IF THE SUMMIT WOULD TAKE PLACE. AN OAU DELEGATION IN CONACKRY WAS PRESENTLY EXAMINING THE LOGISTICS FOR THE HOLDING OF THE SUMMIT. NJENGA FELT THAT BECAUSE MOROCCO IS OPENLY DEFYING THE OAU RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA IT WAS LOSING SUPPORT AMONG ITS FORMER FRIENDS AND MAY NOT BE ABLE TO MUSTER THE BLOCKING THIRD DURING 20TH SUMMIT. NJENGA THOUGHT THAT GUINEA PRESIDENT'S (SEKOU TOURE), POSITION ON POLISARIO WILL BE CRUCIAL. AS HE IS A STRONG SUPPORTER OF MOROCCO HE MIGHT BE RELUCTANT TO ALLOW A POLISARIO DELEGATION TO ATTEND THE SUMMIT. IF POLISARIO DELEGATION WERE NOT TO BE ALLOWED TO COME TO CONACKRY THEN

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THE PRO-POLISARIO SUPPORTERS WOULD PROBABLY BOYCOTT THE SUMMIT.
POSSIBILITY OF THE 20TH SUMMIT TAKING PLACE IN ADDIS ABABA COULD NOT
BE DISCOUNTED.

ETHIOPIA AND THE OAU (UNDERLINED)

11. NJENGA SAID THAT THE OAU WAS MOST DISAPPOINTED AT THE SUDDEN AND
UNEXPECTED DECISION OF THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU, MENGISTU NOT
TO ATTEND THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY. HE HIMSELF THOUGHT THAT THE
RUSSIAN PRESSURE WAS THE MAIN CAUSE FOR MENGISTU'S NON-ATTENDANCE.
NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID CHAIRMAN'S INTEREST IN THE OAU REMAINED VERY
STRONG.

12. UNITED STATES AND BRITISH COLLEAGUES IN ADDIS ABABA THOUGHT
MENGISTU'S DECISION NOT TO ATTEND WAS DUE TO A COMBINATION OF
FACTORS, PRIMARILY OPPOSITION FROM THE PRO-MOSCOW MEMBERS OF PMAC AND
COPWE WHO ARE OPPOSED TO ANY NORMALISATION OF RELATIONS WITH UNITED
STATES AND FELT THAT A VISIT TO UN AND PROBABLE MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT REAGAN COULD HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS
NORMALISING ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WEST, AND IN PARTICULAR THE UNITED
STATES, CONCERN WITH PERSONAL SECURITY AND DIRECT PRESSURE FROM
MOSCOW. IN ADDITION TO VISITING UN MENGISTU WAS SCHEDULED TO VISIT
BELGIUM AND FRANCE.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP P M AND CABINET

MIN DEFENCE
JIO

ACTION: SAM

JCAA
JAEF

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	MCO	PA
FAS(EANA)	EUR	CN	AM	EX	DPR
ISPP	FAS(IRSAM)	IO	FAS(ECO)	EO	ER
FAS(LC)	IL	AR	FAREP-M	FAREP-P	
FAREP-S					

JEDDAH LAGOS PEKING

CONFIDENTIAL

IN

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK

IN

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ACTION: IO
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OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

O.CH150452 MJWO

OUT

O.CH150452 1741 9.11.83 CLA FIRST

TO.
PP UN NEW YORK/4342

FM. CANBERRA /

R E S T R I C T E D

UNGA 38: FOURTH COMMITTEE: ITEM 18 WESTERN SAHARA

FROM FILE 906/38/14, 935/28/2

WE WERE IN THE PROCESS OF PREPARING A SUBMISSION TO MR HAYDEN WHEN WE RECEIVED F.UN208 CONTAINING THE ALGERIAN REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA.

2. WE SHOULD WELCOME YOUR COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT. WE NOTE, FOR INSTANCE, THAT OP FOUR REQUESTS THE UNITED NATIONS TO PROVIDE A PEACEKEEPING FORCE. HOW REALISTIC IS SUCH A REQUEST AND DOES IT NOT CUT ACROSS WHAT IS PROPERLY A SECURITY COUNCIL FUNCTION?

3. WE SHOULD ALSO APPRECIATE YOUR ASSESSMENT OF LIKELY SUPPORT FOR THE ALGERIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION NOW THAT IT HAS BEEN REVISED, AND THE MOROCCAN DRAFT DECISION.

4. IS THERE ANY INDICATION OF WHEN THE VOTE WILL OCCUR?

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

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TO.
PP CANBERRA/7392

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RR ALGIERS/264 PARIS EMB/675

FM. UN NEW YORK / REF O.UN28637

*I guess we
disagree.
Do we need
to go to Min?*

C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

FROM FILE 412/1 103/3/4

THE FOURTH COMMITTEE HAS COMMENCED ITS GENERAL DEBATE ON ITEM 18. THUS FAR MOROCCO HAS EXPENDED CONSIDERABLE EFFORT IN PUTTING ITS VIEWPOINT TO THE COMMITTEE WHICH HAS HEARD IN RECENT DAYS LENGTHY STATEMENTS FROM EIGHT REPRESENTATIVES OF PRO-MOROCCAN SAHARAN ORGANISATIONS. BY CONTRAST THE TWO INTERVENTIONS IN THE DEBATE FOCUSING ON WESTERN SAHARA - BY ANGOLA AND SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE - WERE SHARPLY CRITICAL OF MOROCCO'S POSITION. WE CAN EXPECT THAT ALGERIA'S SUPPORTERS WILL RALLY TO THE CAUSE DURING THE DEBATE.

2. ALGERIA HAS NOW CIRCULATED INFORMALLY A REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH TAKES NOTE OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE ADDIS-ABABA SUMMIT. THE RESOLUTION IS INCORPORATED IN ITS ENTIRETY IN THE ALGERIAN TEXT WHICH ALSO REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO TAKE STEPS TO ENSURE THAT THE UNITED NATIONS PARTICIPATE IN THE ORGANISATION OF CONDUCT OF A REFERENDUM, URGES HIM TO COOPERATE WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE OAU AND REQUESTS THE COMMITTEE OF 24 TO CONSIDER THE ISSUE.

3. REACTIONS OF OTHER DELEGATIONS TO THE ALGERIAN DRAFT ARE NECESSARILY PRELIMINARY AND TENTATIVE AT THIS STAGE BUT THE ALGERIANS SEEM TO HAVE CUT THE GROUND FROM UNDER THE FEET OF MOROCCO'S SUPPORTERS. MOROCCO HAS ALSO CIRCULATED A DRAFT DECISION WHICH, INTER ALIA, TAKES NOTE OF THE EFFORTS OF THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE AND WELCOMES MOROCCO'S SUPPORT FOR A REFERENDUM. THE MOROCCAN DRAFT AVOIDS ANY EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT THOUGH IT CONTAINS A REFERENCE TO THE ADDIS ABABA SUMMIT RESOLUTION. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT ALGERIA AND ITS SUPPORTERS WILL ALLOW IT TO PROCEED WITHOUT PUTTING FORWARD AN AMENDMENT CALLING FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

4. THE RESOLUTIONS ARE BEING FAXED SEPARATELY.

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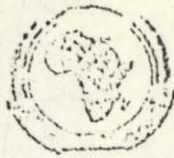
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Addis Ababa

AHG/Res.104 (XIX)

ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND
GOVERNMENT
NINETEENTH ORDINARY SESSION
ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA
6-11 JUNE, 1983.

RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA

RESOLUTION ON WESTERN SAHARA

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Nineteenth Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 6 to 11 June, 1983,

Having examined the Report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

Recalling the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II during the 18th Summit to accept the holding of a referendum in the Western Sahara to enable the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

Recalling with appreciation, His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the Recommendation of the Sixth Session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B Annex 1 as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

Reaffirming its previous Resolutions and Decisions on the question of Western Sahara, and in particular AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) of 27 June, 1981,

1. TAKES NOTE of the Reports of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara.
2. URGES the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a ceasefire to create the necessary condition for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the OAU and the UN and CALLS on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the ceasefire.

3. DIRECTS the Implementation Committee to meet as soon as possible, and in collaboration with the parties to the conflict should continue to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the ceasefire and the conduct of the referendum in December, 1983.
4. REQUESTS the United Nations in conjunction with the OAU to provide a Peace-Keeping Force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the Referendum.
5. MANDATES the Implementation Committee with the participation of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to ensure the proper implementation of this resolution.
6. REQUESTS the Implementation Committee to report to the 20th Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the result of the Referendum with a view to enabling the 20th Summit to reach a final decision on all aspects of the question of the Western Sahara.
7. DECIDES to remain seized with the question of Western Sahara.
8. REQUESTS the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take account of the proceedings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Ordinary Sessions on the Question of Western Sahara and to this end INVITES the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee.
9. WELCOMES the constructive attitude of the Saharawi leaders in making it possible for the 19th Summit to meet by withdrawing from it voluntarily and temporarily.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FACSIMILE MESSAGE

935/28/2 16

Charles asked me to
drop a brief cable to NY.
Op. para 4 may be a problem
for us if we are inclining to
"yes" vote. Draft is with

him. Submission is
being held pending NY's
response R. 9/11

Precedence:

Date / Time of Lodgement: 4/10/83 1850

F. UN 235

CSN 235

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FM UNNY

For Information:

FM FILE 412/1;103/3/4 TO FILE

BB ALGIERS PARIS FMB.

REF. O.UN 28735

NO. OF PAGES

Subject Heading or Summary of Text:

UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

FOLLOWING ARE THE TEXTS OF THE REVISED DRAFT RESOLUTION ON WESTERN
SAHARA CIRCULATED BY ALGERIA AND THE DRAFT DECISION CIRCULATED BY MOROCCO.

RCWE 4/11/83

Sender

Signature & Date

Dept/Section

Phone No.

No. of copies to be
returned to sender

FON 200/1

The General Assembly,

Having considered in depth the question of Western Sahara,

I- Takes note of the resolution AHG/Res.104 (XTX) on Western Sahara adopted unanimously by the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity during their nineteenth Summit Conference held in Addis Ababa from 8 to 12 June 1983 which reads as follows:

"The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Nineteenth Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 8 to 12 June 1983,

Having examined the report of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

Recalling the solemn commitment made by His Majesty King Hassan II during the 10th Summit to accept the holding of a referendum in the Western Sahara to enable the people of that territory to exercise their right to self-determination,

Recalling with appreciation, His Majesty King Hassan's acceptance of the recommendation of the Sixth Session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara contained in document AHG/103 (XVIII) B, annex I as well as his pledge to co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the search for a just, peaceful and lasting solution,

14)
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Reaffirming its previous resolutions and decisions on the question of Western Sahara, and in particular AHG/Res.103 (XVIII) of 27 June 1981,

1. Takes note of the reports of the Implementation Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara ;
2. Urges the parties to the conflict, the Kingdom of Morocco and the Polisario Front, to undertake direct negotiations with a view to bringing about a cease-fire to create the necessary condition for a peaceful and fair referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraints, under the auspices of the OAU and the United Nations and calls on the Implementation Committee to ensure the observance of the cease-fire ;
3. Directs the Implementation Committee to meet as soon as possible, and in collaboration with the parties to the conflict, should continue to work out the modalities and all other details relevant to the implementation of the cease-fire and the conduct of the referendum in December 1983 ;
4. Requests the United Nations in conjunction with the OAU to provide a Peace-Keeping Force to be stationed in Western Sahara to ensure peace and security during the organization and conduct of the referendum ;
5. Mandates the Implementation Committee with the participation of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to ensure the proper implementation of this resolution ;
6. Requests the Implementation Committee to report to the 20th Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the result of the Referendum with a view to enabling the 20th Summit to reach a final decision on all aspects of the question of the Western Sahara ;
7. Decides to remain seized with the question of Western Sahara ;
8. Requests the Implementation Committee in the discharge of its mandate to take account of the proceedings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Ordinary Sessions on the question of Western Sahara and to this end invites the OAU Secretary-General to make available the full records of the said proceedings to the Committee ;

F-UN 20813

- 3 -

9. Welcomes the constructive attitude of the Saharawi leaders in making it possible for the 19th Summit to meet by withdrawing from it voluntarily and temporarily.

II- Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to ensure that the United Nations participates effectively in the organization and conduct of the referendum and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on this subject and on the measures requiring a decision by the Council ;

III- Urges the Secretary-General to co-operate closely with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity with a view to the implementation of the pertinent decisions of the Organization of African Unity and of the present resolution ;

IV- Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth Session.

12
FOW 208/4

DRAFT DECISION

The General Assembly, recalling its unanimous decisions n° 36/406 of 24 November 1981 and 37/411 of 23 November 1982, takes note of the efforts of the OAU and its Implementation Committee with a view of reaching a lasting and just solution to the question of Western Sahara, and welcomes the statement made before the General Assembly on 27 September 1983, by which His Majesty King HASSAN II confirmed Morocco's commitment for the organisation of a referendum in Western Sahara, and abiding by its result. It affirms the support of the United Nations to the OAU and to its Implementation Committee for the establishment of a cease-fire and the organisation of a just and peaceful referendum of self-determination in Western Sahara, in conformity with the resolution AG/Res. 103 (XVIII) and AG/Res. 104 (XIX) of the 18th and 19th Assemblies of Heads of state and government of the OAU held respectively in Nairobi from 24 to 27 January 1981 and in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) from 6 to 12 June 1983, and with the decisions of the Implementation Committee adopted in Nairobi. To this end the General Assembly requests the Secretary General of the United Nations, to give assistance in consultations and co-operation with the OAU, to the Implementation Committee, in the discharge of its mandate relating to the question of Western Sahara, arising from the above mentioned resolutions and decisions, and to report there on to the General Assembly and the Security Council as appropriate.

FEND.

FUN 208

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 38 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 - WESTERN SAHARA

FROM FILE 412/1

WE HAVE BEEN PASSED A COPY OF A DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA BY THE ALGERIAN DELEGATION TOGETHER WITH A COPY OF A LETTER SENT BY THE OAU CHAIRMAN TO ALL MEMBER STATES OF THE OAU FOLLOWING THE MEETING OF THE OAU IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE IN SEPTEMBER 1983. (COPIES OF BOTH DOCUMENTS ARE BEING SENT BY FAX (F.UN178)).

2. OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS 2 AND 6 OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION CALL UPON MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT TO ENTER INTO DIRECT NEGOTIATION. THE MOROCCANS HAVE CIRCULATED A PAPER REAFFIRMING THEIR WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH THE OAU IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE IN THE CONDUCT OF A PLEBISCITE. THEY HAVE HOWEVER REJECTED OUTRIGHT THE CONCEPT OF NEGOTIATION BETWEEN MOROCCO AND THE POLISARIO FRONT.

3. THE DEBATE ON ITEM 18 IS EXPECTED TO GET UNDER WAY NEXT WEEK THOUGH WE HAVE NO INDICATION WHEN THE DEBATE WILL FOCUS ON WESTERN SAHARA. ACCORDING TO WATHEN THERE IS LIKELY TO BE A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF PETITIONERS ON THIS SUBJECT.

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File No. 141/7/1

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Record of Conversation with Mr Sadik Bachir Malainin - Polisario "Special Envoy"
to Asia and Oceania
on 2 August 1983
Officers Present Mr C.A. Edwards, AS, SAM Branch
Mr G.K. Miller, Head, MENA Section
Mr G.R. Stewart, MENA Section

(F) 935/28/2

MAIN SUBJECTS (S): WESTERN SAHARA; 19TH O.A.U. SUMMIT;
UNGA 38; IRAN/IRAQ

After exchanging pleasantries Mr Edwards asked Mr Malainin how he saw the present situation in Iran. Mr Malainin replied that both the political and economic climate had improved in recent times and that although the Mujahiddeen still operated, its activities had been greatly curtailed.

Mr Edwards said that Australia remained concerned at the continuing Gulf war with the death and injury on both sides and the destabilising effect it had on other countries in the vicinity. Mr Malainin indicated that he could appreciate Australia's concern over this matter, adding that some countries however benefitted from a continuation of the war. Mr Malainin believed that there was no prospect of an early end to the war unless Iraq accepts the Iranian preconditions. Mr Miller said that with regard to these preconditions, recent Iranian statements appeared to place less emphasis on the demand for the replacement of Saddam Hussein. Mr Malainin replied that he was not aware of any such change by the Iranians.

Mr Edwards asked Mr Malainin for his assessment of the present situation in the Western Sahara. Mr Malainin replied that the war between Morocco and the Polisario Front continued, and that King Hassan had rejected the OAU resolution (regarding this matter) passed at the recent 19th Summit. Mr Miller said that he understood the King had in fact announced recently that the elections planned to take place this year in Morocco had been postponed to facilitate the holding of such a referendum, as sought by the OAU resolution. Mr Malainin responded by saying that the referendum

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Report prepared by

(G.R. Stewart)

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planned by Hassan was the same as that put forward by Morocco in 1981, i.e., to confirm Moroccan legitimacy in the Western Sahara, and was not a referendum concerned with self-determination as called for in the OAU resolution. Mr Malainin added that even if this "confirmative" referendum went against the Moroccans, the King had indicated he would not accept such a result. Mr Malainin indicated that the recent increase in military activity by Polisario forces was in response to this "unacceptable stance" by Morocco.

Mr Malainin commented that Polisario saw the OAU resolution as a "peace plan" and that if Morocco rejected one part of it (as they had done by rejecting the call for a referendum on self-determination), then they effectively rejected the whole plan.

Mr Malainin saw any successful peace process as proceeding along the following path -

1. Political acceptance by both sides of the need for a negotiated peace as a prerequisite to any negotiations.
2. A political agreement between the parties to arrange the mechanics of a ceasefire and referendum.
3. The holding of a referendum and the instituting of the results of that referendum.

Mr Malainin said that this was also how the OAU saw any peace process proceeding. He added that Polisario would do nothing to impede the implementation of the OAU decisions taken at the 19th Summit.

Mr Edwards raised the question of whether King Hassan could afford to agree to give up the Western Sahara in terms of the effect it would have on his position within Morocco. Mr Malainin replied that he believed this was not a problem. He believed that in spite of the present apparent united support for the war by the people, media and political parties in Morocco, the Moroccan people would accept it if peace were attained (even at the cost of losing the Western Sahara). Mr Malainin added that the war was costing Morocco $2\frac{1}{2}$ - 3 million dollars a day, nearly half of its budget, and that the Moroccan people would be economically better off if the war were ended; he felt this would help assuage any anger felt at losing the Western Sahara.

Mr Miller noted that the OAU resolution called for a referendum to be held in December and questioned whether the Implementation Committee could achieve this. Mr Malainin replied that the Implementation Committee was only concerned with the mechanics of holding a referendum. Achieving the cooperation of both sides was a matter for the present Chairman of the OAU, together with the Heads of Government

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of OAU members; thus the timing of any referendum depended largely on the ability of these individuals to convince Morocco to abide by the OAU resolution.

Mr Miller asked what Polisario's expectations were from this year's debate at UNGA on this matter. Mr Malainin replied that for the first time the whole of Africa was united on the Western Sahara issue and that he foresaw no problems in the UNGA passing a motion along the lines of the OAU resolution. Mr Malainin added that the U.N. had been ahead of the OAU on this matter when, in 1979, it named Polisario as a party to the Western Sahara dispute. He added, however, that since that time the U.N. has done nothing constructive on this issue.

Mr Miller pointed out that the position Australia takes on any resolution put to the UNGA on this matter will be made at Ministerial level. However, Australia would presumably have no difficulty with a resolution which was put forward as an OAU agreed text. Mr Malainin replied that he thought an agreed text was probable as (unlike in previous years) the OAU resolution was very "tight and specific".

Mr Malainin asked for an explanation of Australia's present policy regarding Polisario and the SADR. Mr Edwards replied that the new Australian Government had not varied the policy of the previous Government, that is, that Australia considers the Polisario Front as a representative, but not the sole legitimate representative of the Western Saharan people. With respect to the SADR, Australia continues to recognise only governments and does not recognise the SADR as a separate country. Mr Edwards added that Australia continued to support efforts to find a peaceful end to the conflict, and the right of the Western Saharan people to self-determination. Mr Malainin responded that this had been Australia's position for a number of years and that he thought it was time our policy went further, particularly now that OAU policy had progressed towards recognising Polisario. Mr Malainin added that Polisario and the SADR needed Australia's help (recognition) now, not after it had achieved independence. Mr Edwards replied that the recent OAU resolution could be seen as that organisation "catching up" with Australia on this issue. Further, in Australia's view, it would be putting the "cart before the horse" to recognise Polisario as a government or SADR as a country before an act of self-determination had taken place.

Mr Miller asked Mr Malainin what the reaction of Indian and Malaysian authorities had been in their talks with him (Mr Malainin had visited these countries prior to his arrival in Australia). Mr Malainin replied that India, because of its chairmanship of the NAM, was a special case, but that an invitation for a Polisario delegation to visit had recently been issued. With respect to Malaysia, that country supported the OAU resolution and recognition of

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Polisario was presently under study. Mr Malainin added that support for Polisario was growing world wide, particularly in Latin and South America where Polisario had recently opened an embassy in Venezuela.

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See para 3

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RR BEIRUT/55 NAIROBI/79

FM. ALGIERS /

R E S T R I C T E D

ALGERIA: POLITICAL REPORT: MAY 1983

FROM FILE 801/2

PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA WAS WARMLY RECEIVED DURING A VISIT TO ALGIERS WHICH SET THE SEAL ON INCREASINGLY CLOSE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN ALGERIA AND TUNISIA. BUT ALGERIA'S EFFORTS TO TURN THE OCCASION INTO A MAGHREB SUMMIT WERE DISAPPOINTED WHEN KING HASSAN DECLINED TO PARTICIPATE - THOUGH RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO CONTINUE TO IMPROVE. AFTER MANY DELAYS THE FLOW OF ALGERIAN NATURAL GAS TO ITALY THROUGH THE TRANS-MEDITERRANEAN PIPELINE HAS COMMENCED. ALGERIAN REACTIONS TO THE LEBANON-ISRAEL WITHDRAWAL AGREEMENT HAVE BEEN AMBIVALENT. ALGERIA HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN AFRICAN CAPITALS IN SEEKING SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION ON THE WESTERN SAHARA. THE CONVICTION OF FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER BOUTEFLIKA FOR MISAPPROPRIATION OF OFFICIAL FUNDS COMPLETED THE REMOVAL FROM POLITICAL LIFE OF ONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S MORE FORMIDABLE POTENTIAL RIVALS. THE ALGERIAN MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE VISITED AUSTRALIA. (RESTRICTED)

THE RAPID IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ALGERIA AND TUNISIA IN RECENT MONTHS WAS REFLECTED IN THE LARGE TURNOUT IN THE STREETS OF ALGIERS TO WELCOME PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA ON HIS FIRST VISIT IN NEARLY TEN YEARS. THE VISIT FOLLOWED THE SIGNATURE IN MARCH OF A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION AS WELL AS OF A BORDER AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. BOTH COUNTRIES THIS MONTH RATIFIED BOTH AGREEMENTS. THE RAPPROCHMENT REFLECTED THE GROWING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE OPENING EARLIER THIS MONTH AT CAP BON (TUNISIA) OF THE TRANS-MEDITERRANEAN GAS PIPELINE BY THE PRESIDENTS OF ITALY, ALGERIA AND TUNISIA. THE START OF THE GAS FLOW TO ITALY, AFTER PROTRACTED NEGOTIATING OVER PRICING, WILL CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY IN FUTURE

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YEARS IN ALGERIA'S EXPORT EARNINGS. ALGERIA'S DECISION TO STRENGTHEN ITS RELATIONS WITH TUNIS APPEARS TO BE PART OF ITS BROADER EFFORT TO REINFORCE TIES WITH ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURS AND TO GIVE RENEWED IMPETUS TO THE AGE-OLD DREAM OF A GREATER MAGHREB. IT NO DOUBT ALSO REFLECTED A WISH TO STRENGTHEN ITS POSITION IN TUNIS BEFORE THE PASSING OF BOURGUIBA.

2. THERE WAS MUCH DISAPPOINTMENT WHEN ALGERIA'S PLAN TO CONVENE A MAGHREB SUMMIT AROUND THE VISIT OF BOURGUIBA COLLAPSED APPARENTLY DUE TO A LAST MINUTE CHANGE OF HEART BY KING HASSAN. THE PRESIDENT OF MAURITANIA APPEARED ON THE SCENE AND HIS VISIT WAS HASTILY RE-BILLED AS A ''WORKING'' VISIT. THE SUMMIT APPEARED TO BE CONCEIVED AS A DRAMATIC DEMONSTRATION OF THE WILL TO SUBMERGE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE MAGHREB ARAB STATES AND FITTED INTO BROADER EFFORTS BEING DEPLOYED BY SAUDI ARABIA TO DAMP DOWN REGIONAL ARAB DISPUTES. ON A PRACTICAL LEVEL ALGIERS HOPED TO BUILD ON ITS RECENT CONTRACTS WITH MOROCCO TO SEEK AN AGREED APPROACH TOWARDS RESOLVING THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE. THE FAILURE OF THE SUMMIT INITIATIVE, REPORTEDLY DUE TO HASSAN'S CONCERN THAT GUADDAFI WOULD ALSO ATTEND, ENSURED THAT THE WESTERN SAHARA ISSUE WOULD AGAIN PROVE A DIVISIVE ISSUE AT THE OAU SUMMIT. INTERIOR MINISTER YALA VISITED RABAT AND CONCLUDED AGREEMENT ON STEPS TO FACILITATE MOVEMENT ACROSS THE ALGERIAN-MOROCCAN FRONTIER AND ON THE RESTORATION OF DIRECT AIR SERVICES BY THE TWO NATIONAL AIRLINES.

3. DURING THE MONTH ALGERIA WAS ACTIVE IN AFRICAN CAPITALS, INCLUDING VISITS BY PRIME MINISTER ABDELGHANI TO SEVERAL FRENCH AFRICAN COUNTRIES, BOTH IN AN EFFORT TO HEAD OFF ATTEMPTS TO POSTPONE THE OAU SUMMIT AND TO SECURE A WIDE ATTENDANCE. IT WAS ALSO ACTIVE IN PRESSING ITS CASE IN SUPPORT OF A CALL FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND POLISARIO (ACCORDING TO POLISARIO STATEMENTS, DENIED BY MOROCCAN SPOKESMEN, DIRECT CONTACTS HAVE ALREADY TAKEN PLACE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES IN PRIVATE AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL.) DURING THE MONTH POLISARIO CELEBRATED THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING IN THE WESTERN SAHARA. THE CONTINUED LULL IN MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE WESTERN SAHARA SUGGESTS THAT POLISARIO IS STILL FAR FROM ACHIEVING ANY SIGNIFICANT MILITARY OBJECTIVES.

4. THE ALGERIAN REACTION TO THE SIGNATURE OF THE LEBANON-ISRAEL WITHDRAWAL AGREEMENT THOUGH STRONG ON RHETORIC, WAS AMBIVALENT IN SUBSTANCE AND APPEARED TO BE DESIGNED TO KEEP OPEN ALGERIAN CONTACTS WITH BOTH LEBANON AND SYRIA. ALGERIA RECEIVED SPECIAL ENVOYS FROM BOTH COUNTRIES AND SUBSEQUENTLY PRESIDENT CHADLI VISITED DAMASCUS. ARAFAT VISITED ALGIERS WHICH APPEARS TO BE USING ITS GOOD OFFICES IN AN ATTEMPT TO RESTORE UNITY IN THE RANKS OF THE PLO. ALGERIA ALSO IS STAYING IN CONTACT WITH BOTH PARTIES TO THE IRAN-IRAQ DISPUTE SENDING PRIME MINISTER ABDELGHANI TO TEHRAN DURING THE MONTH. FLN

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PARTY SECRETARY MESSAADIA VISITED TRIPOLI IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROPOSAL FOR THE ABORTIVE MAGHREB SUMMIT. THE LIBYAN FOREIGN MINISTER ALSO BRIEFLY VISITED ALGIERS.

5. THE FORMER ALGERIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BOUTEFLIKA WAS FOUND GUILTY IN HIS ABSENCE ON A RANGE OF CHARGES RELATING TO MISAPPROPRIATION OF OFFICIAL FUNDS INVOLVING LARGE SUMS DATING BACK TO THE 1960S AND 1970S. BENCHERIF, ANOTHER INFLUENTIAL MINISTER UNDER BOUMEDIENNE, WAS ALSO CONVICTED ON SEPARATE CHARGES. THE TIMING OF THE DECISIONS WOULD APPEAR TO BE DESIGNED TO COMPLETE THE DISGRACE OF BOUTEFLIKA BEFORE THE FIFTH FLN PARTY CONGRESS LATER THIS YEAR. BOUTEFLIKA HAD BEEN A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF BOUMEDIENNE AND HAD BEEN SPOKEN OF AS POSSIBLE FUTURE RIVAL TO PRESIDENT CHADLI.

6. THE ALGERIAN MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE, ACCOMPANIED BY A GROUP OF SENIOR AGRICULTURAL OFFICIALS, VISITED CANBERRA AND FOUR STATE CAPITALS. THIS WAS THE FIRST VISIT BY AN ALGERIAN MINISTER TO AUSTRALIA. DURING THE MONTH AUSTRALIA PARTICIPATED FOR THE SECOND YEAR RUNNING IN THE ALGIERS INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR.

ACTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ONA

PRIME MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE
DEP INDY COMM
DEP PRIMARY IND
DEP TRANSPORT
ASIO (M)

FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP FINANCE
DEP RSCS + ENERGY
DEP AVIATION (C)
DEP TREASURY

MIN DEFENCE
DEP IMM ETH AFF
DEP P M AND CABINET
DEP TRADE
JIO

ACTION: SAM

JADA

SEC	DEPSEC-A	DEPSEC-B	LA	MCO	PA
ICR	FAS(SEP)	NZ	FAS(EANA)	EUR	CN
EX	DPR	ISPP	FAS(IRSAM)	IO	
FAS(ECO)	EO	ER	OEE	FAS(LC)	MLT
IL	CP	GLI	DIR-ADAB	FAS(BP)	PPR
PAAP	SEAP	FAS(PTO)	PDC	MNGP	

ACCRA LAGOS MALTA TEHRAN

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